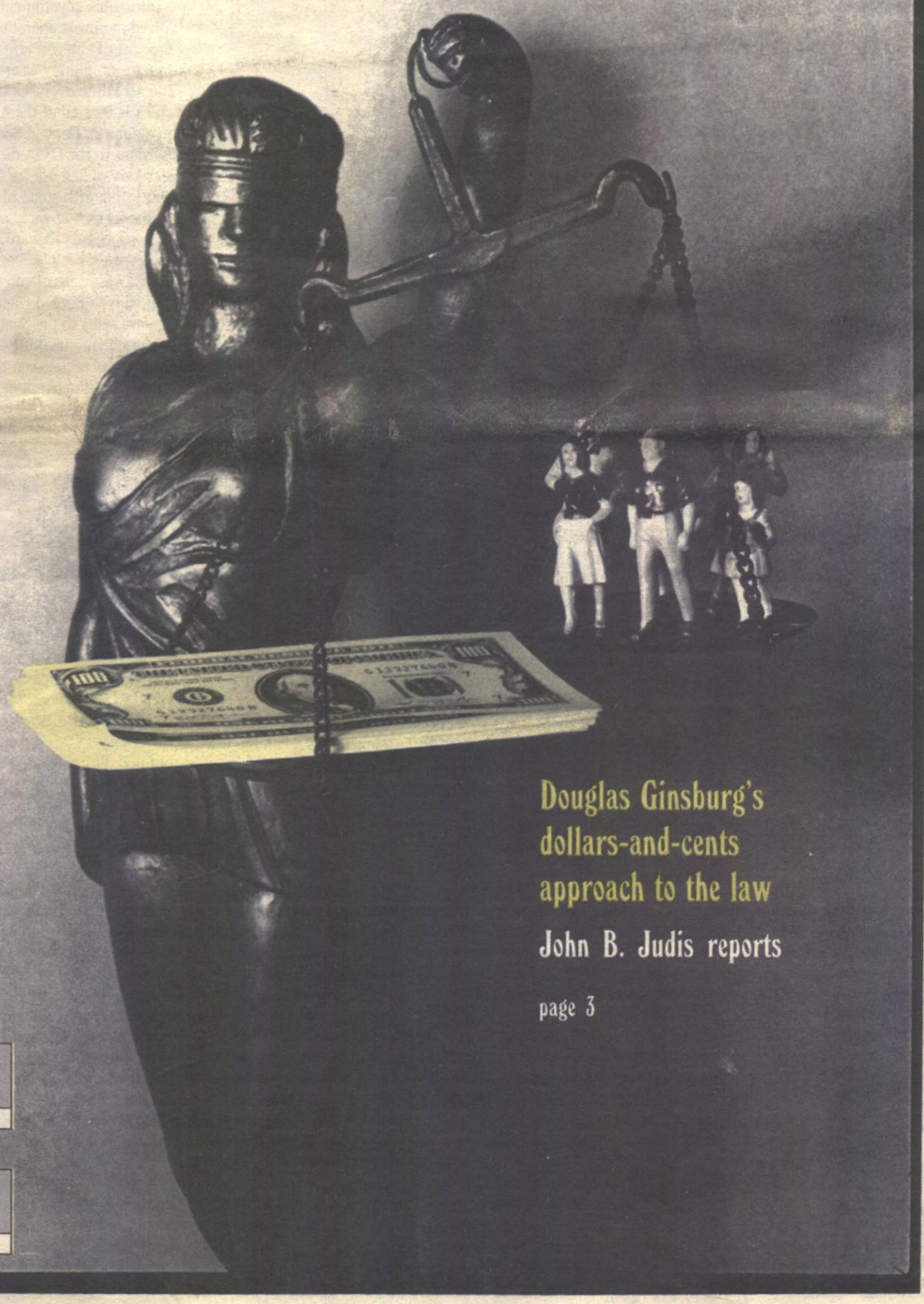
11th Anniversary Issue!

IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 12, NO. 2 NOVEMBER 11-17, 1987 $1.25

What price justice?



Douglas Ginsburg's dollars-and-cents approach to the law

John B. Judis reports

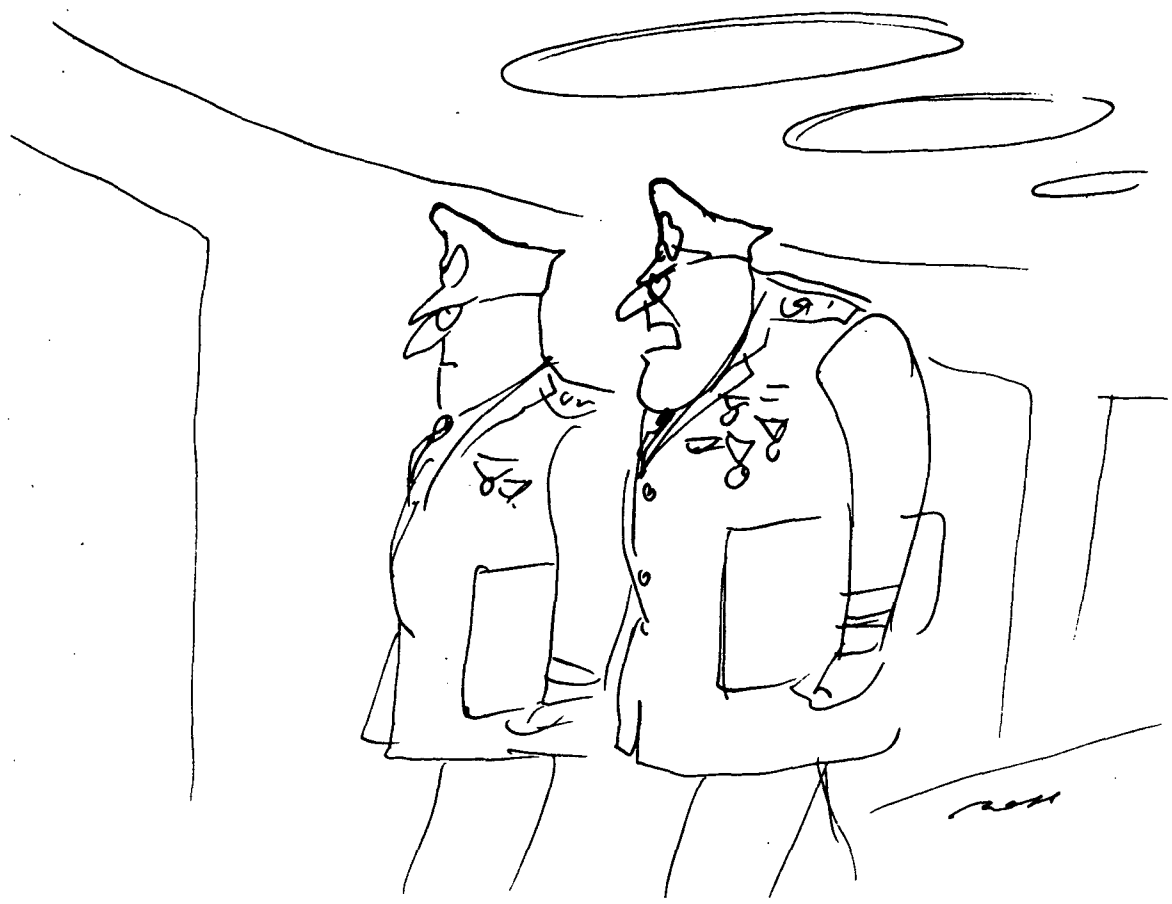
page 3

Missing: $613 million
If found, please call the Pentagon
PAGE 2

Party favors
Democrats–'88 and beyond
PAGE 19

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"PAPERWORK IS HELL!"

ROTHCO

Pentagon misplaces $613 million

By Jim Naureckas

When the U.S. government couldn't account for $12 million from its Iran arms sales, it was a national scandal. Now the Pentagon has mislaid more than $600 million, and no one seems to be paying attention.

The money is supposed to be in the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) trust fund, which enables other countries to purchase military goods and services from the U.S. According to the Defense Department's latest audit, $5.63 billion is currently in the fund—$613 million less than the Pentagon can account for.

A House Government Operations Committee report released last month scores the military for its "archaic and chaotic" accounting procedures that make it impossible to tell where the money went. "Some of the discrepancy is undoubtedly due to delays in reporting," the report says, "but some is apparently due to erroneous or incompletely reported transactions that have never been identified and corrected."

The money does not belong to the U.S. government—it belongs to the foreign governments that placed it in the trust fund for future purchases. The report warns that the Defense Department "faces the prospect of reimbursing customers for inadequately documented disbursements of their funds." Since it already is threatened with budget cuts from the Gramm-Rudman law, the military would not relish giving away an extra half billion.

Anything can happen: Both the Government Operations Committee and the subcommittee that produced the report are headed by Rep. Jack Brooks (D-TX). His report does not speculate on where the money may have gone. But as Jean Boltz, an accountant for Congress' General Accounting Office (GAO), explained, "If you don't have good accounting procedure, anything can happen."

"The problem is that nobody is really in charge," said a congressional aide. A Pentagon body known as the Defense Security Assistance Agency (DSAA) is nominally responsible for overseeing the fund. But more than a dozen Defense agencies, including regional commands and individual service branches, are involved with FMS. The State and Treasury Departments have a hand in the process as well. The result is a situation where not only the buck doesn't stop anywhere, but nobody can say where the buck is.

Non-accountants may find it difficult to understand how the government does not know the whereabouts of $600 million. The GAO's Boltz compared the FMS fund to a checkbook that hasn't been balanced in 30 years. To make things worse, each "check"—an individual order from a country—takes several years to process, because each can contain hundreds of items that are billed to different services or to different contractors.

Even with 30,000 staff-years devoted annually to keeping track of FMS transactions, the accounting problem is monstrous—as is the potential for fraud.

In the wake of the Iran-contra scandal, there is a natural suspicion that some of the money, rather than being lost in the bureaucracy or lining private pockets, may have gone to fund the sorts of political projects that fascinate President Reagan. Testimony to the Iran-contra committee, for example, revealed CIA Director William Casey's plans for an "off-the-shelf" covert network—a network that would fund itself with profits not controlled by Congress. The FMS fund—with its billions of effectively unwatched foreign dollars—would be ideal for covert operatives trying to avoid congressional scrutiny.

The histories of people who have had control over the fund are not reassuring. The DSAA director during the early Reagan administration was Erich von Marbod, a Pentagon civilian who abruptly resigned, ostensibly for health reasons, shortly after he was linked with Edwin Wilson. Wilson is the ex-CIA agent who is currently in federal prison for supplying Libya's Muammar Khadafy with plastic explosives.

According to Peter Maas' book *Manhunt*, in 1979 then-deputy DSAA Director von Marbod awarded an arms shipping contract to EATSCO, a company in which he and Wilson were allegedly partners. EATSCO was later fined for fraudulent billing to the U.S. government. Maas also reports that von Marbod sent more than $10,000 in DSAA money to an Egyptian official as an apparent bribe.

A more famous figure implicated in the EATSCO scandal was Gen. Richard Secord, who demonstrated his skills at diverting money by managing the Iran-contra operation. Secord, fellow contrapreneur Thomas Clines and ex-CIA Deputy Director Theodore Shackley were partners with Wilson and von Marbod in the EATSCO enterprise, according to associates of Wilson.

During his government career, Secord was deeply involved in covert operations. He also had enormous influence over Pentagon arms sales—at one point he was director of military assistance and sales for the Air Force. The Air Force oversees the DSAA's accounting center, which is located at the Air Force Financing and Accounting Center in Denver. Secord has also been an executive assistant to the DSAA director and the deputy assistant secretary of defense for the Near East and South Asia, who works with some of the U.S.' biggest arms clients.

Still occupying a key position in the foreign military sales process is Richard Armitage, the assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs. Armitage was a close associate of von Marbod throughout the '70s and worked with Secord when they were both involved with military sales to the Shah's Iran.

The Christic Institute—a liberal investigative and legal group—has accused Armitage of controlling funds for an illegal covert network in the '70s. Armitage allegedly used profits from heroin sales in Southeast Asia to fund a variety of right-wing operations—the prototype, Christic researchers say, for the secret contra support network. Armitage has issued a formal denial of the institute's charges, but that denial is evasive on several key points (see *In These Times*, July 8).

Balancing the books: It is important to note that the Government Operations Committee has found no evidence of fraud. But only a full audit can resolve all the discrepancies, and that is possible only after the system stops accumulating new errors. The Government Operations Committee report urges the implementation of a new accounting system that would keep the books from getting further out of balance. That would allow for a thorough examination of past imbalances.

The Pentagon's official comment on that report was no comment. "That's old news," a Defense Department spokesman told *In These Times*, referring to the misplaced $600 million. "There's no news value in that at all."

But DSAA officials working on an overhaul of the FMS accounting system endorsed the report's recommendations, adding that they hope to have a new system in place sometime next year. John Carabello, acting project manager, said the effort is a top priority for the Defense Department. But the Government Operations Committee is skeptical: "The Defense Department has given Congress similar assurances of decisive action on this matter repeatedly since at least 1980."

If Pentagon brass are serious about wanting to clean up their books, their accountants can probably make the system work. If, on the other hand, they are more comfortable with a system that gives them potential access to secret funds, cosmetic improvements can go on forever—without ever getting to the mess underneath. □

INSIDE STORY

CONTENTS

Inside Story: The Pentagon misplaces $613 million 2
The Ginsburg nomination—what price justice? 3
In Short 4
Making a killing from AIDS drugs 6
The autonomy issue in black America 7
Washington tries to silence the PLO's American voices 8
Democratic presidential hopefuls on the environment 9
France—a renegade candidacy on the left 11
Hope for the homeless—new governmental action 12
Editorials 14
Letters/Sylvia 15
Viewpoint: On black political unity 16
Ashes & Diamonds by Alexander Cockburn 17
In Print: *A Cup of Coffee with My Interrogator* 18
Powerful Peacemaking 18
Harrington and Kuttner—the Democratic future 19
In the Arts: Media Beat 20
Michael Cimino's Sicilian slide 21
Classifieds/Life in Hell 23
Tom Waits and Bruce Springsteen 24

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1987 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 12, No. 2) published Nov. 11, 1987, for newsstand sales Nov. 11-17, 1987.

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INTHESE TIMES

To Ginsburg, a life is worth $22,094.93

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

NO ONE HERE KNOWS EXACTLY WHAT Ronald Reagan's Supreme Court nominee Douglas Ginsburg thinks about the great constitutional issues of the day, from the rights of free speech and privacy to the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection of the laws. Not only has the 41-year-old U.S. Court of Appeals judge never written about these subjects, but there is no evidence that he has thought deeply about them. Ginsburg's "paper trail" is entirely in the narrow field of antitrust and business deregulation.

Yet his opinions in these areas—and his behavior in the Reagan administration's Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and Justice Department—offer a revealing glimpse at his underlying philosophical principles. He was educated at the University of Chicago Law School, and became an adherent of its doctrine of Law and Economics, which holds that legal questions can be decided by subjecting them to a market analysis of costs and benefits, efficiency and inefficiency. Chicago Law School professor Richard Epstein, for instance, has argued against the constitutionality of minimum wage laws. And Appeals Court Judge Richard Posner, once Ginsburg's professor at Chicago, has argued for buying and selling babies on the open market.

While an administration official, Ginsburg applied this doctrine first as an assistant attorney general in charge of antitrust enforcement, and then as the director of the OMB's Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, in charge of monitoring regulation by government agencies. His approach to antitrust enforcement is reminiscent of Robert Bork's: Ginsburg has yet to meet a merger he doesn't like. At the Justice Department he fought congressional and Federal Reserve attempts to curb corporate piracy. He also resisted attempts to block oil company and newspaper mergers. And he designed legislation to reduce antitrust penalties and permit corporations to have interlocking directorates.

In 1984 Ginsburg spelled out his views in a statement that he and Deputy OMB Director Joseph R. Wright submitted to the House subcommittee on securities when it was considering regulating "greenmail," the exorbitant bribes that corporate managers pay to raiders to get rid of them. Rejecting any regulation, Ginsburg extolled corporate takeovers as a means to "free up capital for new investment opportunities" and to "reward success and penalize failure." And he insisted that "our capital markets are the most efficient, liquid and creative in the world."

Discounting life: Ginsburg's activity at the OMB was even more disconcerting. In 1984 and 1985, Ginsburg, applying the most radical ideas of Law and Economics, undermined attempts to regulate the environment and the workplace. The most dramatic example was his attempt to thwart the regulation of asbestos exposure.

In 1979 the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), acting under the 1976 Toxic Substances Control Act, had begun studying the regulation of asbestos, a carcinogenic substance deadly in even the smallest dose. In 1984 the EPA proposed a 10-year phasing out of asbestos products and the import of asbestos; but the OMB's Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, under Ginsburg, balked.



UPI Bettmann Newsphotos

Is Reagan nominee Douglas Ginsburg supremely unqualified to sit on the nation's highest court?

In a memo Ginsburg's office charged that EPA's asbestos regulations "failed the benefit-cost balancing test by an overwhelming margin." According to the memo, the EPA's asbestos ban would cost Americans $2.408 billion while benefitting them only $89 million. He got these unusual figures by assuming that each human life saved from asbestos-caused cancer was worth $1 million. (In OMB jargon, the "monetized benefits use a value-per-cancer-case-avoided of $1 million.")

But Ginsburg's office figured that since someone exposed to asbestos might not die for 40 years, the cost of each life should be "discounted." According to the OMB's memo, "a life saved 40 years from now is worth roughly only 1/45th as much as a life saved this year." By this tally, he assigned each life a price of $22,094.93, and then calculated that the imposition of asbestos regulation would lead to a net cost of $2.319 billion.

Yet a 1985 report by the House Energy Committee pointed out that the Toxic Substances Control Act specifically ruled out the kind of monetized cost-benefit analysis performed by Ginsburg's office. The act also stated that cost-benefit estimates should be merely a "consideration" in regulatory policy rather than the deciding factor.

The House committee also said that Ginsburg's cost-benefit analysis was "callous and arbitrary." One can go farther: his version of cost-benefit analysis exemplified a radical contempt for individuality by transforming persons into commodities. In Ginsburg's hands, the Law and Economics doctrine creates a new kind of capitalist tyranny in which everything has its price.

But he ardently defended his record at the OMB. In a 1986 *Harvard Law Review* article co-authored with Christopher DeMuth, who preceded him at the OMB and is now president of the American Enterprise Institute, Ginsburg praised the administration for using cost-benefit analysis not merely to analyze but "to *decide* regulatory questions." He then added, "Without some countervailing restraint, EPA and OSHA [the Occupational Health and Safety Administration] would 'spend'—through regulations that spend society's resources but do not appear in the federal government's budget—'too much' on pollution control and workplace safety."

Computer dating: Conservatives have equated Ginsburg with Bork—former White House Communication's Director Pat Buchanan described him as "son of Bork"—but there appear to be significant differences between the two men. Although some of these differences redound to Ginsburg's favor, most do not.

On the plus side, Ginsburg does not appear to share Bork's cranky neo-conservativism and his authoritarian view of free speech and morality. With a professional wife who once performed abortions and with two children who have kept their mother's last name, Ginsburg *appears* to be a conservative Yuppie whose main allegiance to the right is on economic rather than social questions. Former Reagan aide Michael Horowitz, a friend of Ginsburg, claims that Ginsburg would not vote to overturn *Roe vs. Wade*. And Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz, a former colleague, calls him a "libertarian."

On the minus side, Ginsburg, unlike Bork, was never a constitutional scholar. And he has had a much narrower political and social background. For all his faults, Bork was a man of passionate conviction: he tested his faith as a Goldwater supporter at liberal Yale in 1964 and as a Justice Department official during Watergate. Ginsburg, however, was apolitical: he spent the height of the '60s running a computer dating service and was a member of the Me Decade before his time. Then as a Harvard Law School professor in the '70s, he advised corporations on how to evade regulation. His activities in the Reagan administration displayed an obliviousness to human suffering, and his Law and Economics views betray a curious amorality. Indeed, Ginsburg epitomizes the kind of relativism and nihilism that Bork and other neo-conservatives attribute to the '60s left and liberals.

His economic philosophy may also be far more extreme than Bork's. Bork understood that Law and Economics was nothing more than an attempt to return constitutional jurisprudence to the early 20th century when the court used the 14th Amendment to defend the "liberty" of corporations against such federal regulations as child labor laws. In an article in the July-August 1986 *San Diego Law Review*, Bork rejected the idea that "judicial review would extend...to all economic regulation."

Ginsburg's writings do not reveal whether he would take the more extreme judicial positions of Law and Economics, but his application of the doctrine to antitrust and government regulation is not reassuring.

Son of Carswell: Ginsburg is not "son of Bork," but an analogy can be drawn between Ginsburg and G. Harrold Carswell, who Richard Nixon nominated to the Supreme Court after his first nominee, Clement Haynsworth, was rejected by the Senate. Haynsworth was a more distinguished jurist than Carswell, but he was defeated in the Senate because of his anti-civil rights and anti-labor record. Carswell not only had a poor record on civil rights but also was a mediocre jurist, whom Nixon nominated partly out of pique from the rejection of Haynsworth and partly on the recommendation of his Attorney General John Mitchell.

Ginsburg is not intellectually mediocre, but what Carswell lacked in judicial intellect, Ginsburg lacks in experience. When the American Bar Association reviewed his Appeals Court nomination in 1986, it gave him its lowest passing grade of "qualified." What South Carolina Sen. Fritz Hollings said of Carswell—that he was "not fit to carry Haynsworth's law books"—could also be said of Ginsburg and Bork. □

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INSHORT

Joel Bleifuss

Worldwide polluters on view

In New Orleans the Audubon Zoo's new aquarium is treading new waters with its planned "Petroleum Wing"—a marine exhibit that will feature a 500,000-gallon tank holding an oil rig. "A world-class project for a world-class city addressing the worldwide concerns of the petroleum industry" is the way zoo officials describe it as they invite 14 oil companies to buy into the project at $625,000 a share. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, oil rigs, like shipwrecks, attract sea life and are thus popular fishing grounds for sportsmen. Consequently the petroleum wing will visually demonstrate how the oil industry works as a "nurturing force" in the Gulf of Mexico. "What is this exhibit going to be?" wonders Willie Fontenot, an environmental specialist in the Louisiana attorney general's office. "Let's see," Fontenot says, imagining the exhibit. "Here are birds all covered with oil. Here's land with no vegetation where they dumped salt water. Here's a bunch of turtles that were blown up when they removed the rigs."

Prostituting science for industry

The Audubon Zoo may have picked up a few of its tricks from Chicago's Museum of Science and Industry. Here in Chicago museum-goers get a chance to learn about the environment through exhibits sponsored by Waste Management Inc. and the Army Corps of Engineers. But the museum's sights could soon get even more interesting. The museum has a new director, James S. Kahn, PhD. Before coming to the Museum of Science and Industry, Kahn was associate director-at-large for Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, the Pentagon's top-secret California research center that has made news most recently for fudging Star Wars data (see "In Short," Nov. 4). He has spent 25 years at Livermore as a geophysicist helping upgrade the U.S. nuclear arsenal. With Kahn on board it is just possible that the museum's recently-removed Mary Kay Cosmetics section—a pink display room featuring a contraption that magnified skin wrinkles—could be replaced by a Federal Emergency Management Agency exhibit—perhaps a civil-defense diorama showing the museum's 4 million yearly visitors how to sprinkle lime on a loved one.

Just peel it slowly

Some folks feel a fruit has been maligned in the public service film *AIDS: Changing the Rules*. The hour-long television special, hosted by Ronald Reagan's son, features salsa singer Ruben Blades putting a condom on a banana. International Banana Association President Robert M. Moore wrote PBS President Bruce Christensen a letter of protest: "Our industry finds such usage of our product to be totally unacceptable. The choice of a banana rather than some other inanimate prop constitutes arbitrary and reckless disregard for the unsavory association that will be drawn by the public.... The banana's continued image in the minds of the consumer as a healthful and nutritious product is critically important to the industry's continued ability to be held in such high regard by the public and to discharge its responsibilities to its Latin American hosts." To which Christensen replied: "Considerations of taste made it desirable to use a prop instead of the human anatomy to demonstrate the proper use of a condom.... The decision to use a banana for this purpose is the type of editorial decision that the producer is uniquely qualified to make based on a broad range of aesthetic and journalistic considerations." But Moore, unable to appreciate the aesthetics of a condom-covered banana, is threatening to sue for "any and all damages sustained through the arbitrary, capricious and totally unnecessary display of bananas in the form intended."

Who needs condoms?

Cuba places all citizens who test positive for the AIDS antibody in a "special health sanatorium." According to a report in the *Guardian*, the "independent radical newsweekly" of New York, Cuba has tested all 1.66 million of its citizens who have lived overseas since 1975. So far officials have discovered and quarantined the 141 people—110 men and 31 women—who tested positive. (The four Cubans who have had the disease are now dead.) The information in this *Guardian* story comes from an interview with Deputy Health Minister Hector Terry by Karen Wald. From Wald's interview with Terry the reader learns that: the Cuban government has "had complete cooperation from every patient who is carrying this disease"; that the patients are able to watch



© Krzysztof Wodiczko

Night art: A 1985 "public projection" by Polish-born Canadian artist Krzysztof Wodiczko upon the Civil War *Memorial Arch at Grand Army Plaza in Brooklyn, N.Y. Through his public projections, Wodiczko, a former* industrial designer of optic instruments, uses the urban environment as a theatrical arena. On Saturday, November 14, Wodiczko will present his first public projection in Chicago at the intersection of Milwaukee Ave. and Division St. From 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. an as yet undisclosed image will be projected upon the quasi-public Noble Street Cooperative.

The Democratic left looks to 1988

CHICAGO–Concerned by the rightward drift of the nation's political debate, 200 Illinois political activists gathered in Chicago on October 31 to identify and discuss the issues and tactics that would increase the left's influence in the 1988 elections. Meeting under the auspices of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and a number of local unions, the day-long Democratic Alternatives for Illinois conference followed similar events held over the past 19 months in Washington, D.C, Albany, N.Y., and Kansas City.

These four regional conferences were conceived to help combat the increasingly moderate and conservative direction of the Democratic Party. Said DSA Field Director Shakoor Aljuwani, "The only way for the Democratic Party to win is based on a progressive agenda—from the White House down to the local level." And a left economic policy will be a cornerstone of that agenda.

Last month's stock market crash may have helped the left as much as it hurt speculators. Patrick Lacefield, national organizing director for DSA, said the crash "burst the bubble" of imagined prosperity and opened up "a whole range of economic issues for progressives to address: progressive taxation, full employment, health care and child care—issues that impact on poor as well as working- and middle-class people." Heather Booth, co-director of the grass-roots network Citizen Action and one of the conveners of the meeting, agreed. "There is a progressive opening in America," she said. "But we can't just walk through it." The right is still extremely strong, according to Booth.

Countering its strength will require the left to debunk the myths of the Reagan revolution. Charlie Williams, international representative for International Association of Machinists, derided the "economic boom" of the past seven years, during which "the value of minimum wage has fallen 27 percent." Similarly, he said, in this same period "eight of 13 new jobs pay less than $7,000 [a year], and the number of poor in America has expanded 35 percent."

But the agenda for the left's success must go beyond merely thinking that voters will respond to the "truth." A new aggressive organizing is needed. Gene Vanderport, director of organizing for the American Federation of Government Employees, said that in the event of a new recession, the left will "need to define a new safety net. It's not adequate to keep talking as we did in the '30s." A minimum social wage, for example, should look beyond what is needed just to survive, and gauge instead what is needed to fully participate in society.

To reach beyond existing ranks and form an electoral majority, many at the conference felt Democrats need to craft an economic message that combines both economic growth and economic fairness. Robert Creamer, director of the Illinois Public Action Council, believes that the two must be "inextricably linked" if the Democrats are to win in 1988 and then successfully manage the economy. "Those who talk about growth without fairness are giving you a short-term plan with long-term disastrous consequences," he said. "And those who are only concerned with income distribution are politically out to lunch."

The fight to regain the political initiative dominated discussion throughout the day. Not content to recite the litany of Reagan abuses, the conference adopted an optimistic but pragmatic attitude about the work ahead.

Reflecting on the day's accomplishments, Booth noted, "In the barrage of attacks during the Reagan era, it is hard to appreciate how vital the progressive forces are. This meeting was a way to reinforce...the people who are doing the work. These people are effective organizers, involved citizens."

–Peter M. Handler

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Peace plan update

MEXICO CITY–The recent murder of the non-governmental Salvadoran Human Rights Commission president was a deliberate attempt to undermine the Central American peace accord, according to the president of the Costa Rica-based Central American Commission for the Defense of Human Rights (CODEHUCA).

Ramon Custodio Lopez, who is also president of the Honduran Human Rights Commission (CODEH), said here recently that although the 90-day deadline for compliance with the terms of the Central American peace accord was to expire November 5, the human rights situations in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala are still "terrible."

"In recent weeks there have been at least two disappearances and at least two assassinations of agronomists in Guatemala," said Custodio. "The president of the non-governmental Human Rights Commission of El Salvador has been assassinated. And in Honduras over the past months there have been six political killings by state security forces and eight deaths suspected of being political killings."

The Salvadoran human rights leader Herbert Ernesto Anaya's death squad-style murder was meant to be an obstacle to the peace accord, said Custodio, who added that there are indications that the Salvadoran military was involved.

The 33-year-old Anaya was gunned down on October 26 at 6:40 a.m. as he left his San Salvador home with his children to take them to school. In the weeks prior to his murder he had repeatedly received death threats.

"It definitely seems to me that the assassination of Herbert Anaya has the intention in El Salvador—and we've already seen the effect—of a suspension of the dialogue between the Salvadoran guerrillas and government," said Custodio.

After Anaya's assassination, Salvadoran rebels cancelled a series of meetings to iron out a cease-fire with the government.

The governments of Honduras and El Salvador are playing a "negative role" in obstructing the peace process said Custodio. "First, there is the deliberate attitude of [Honduran] President [Jose] Azcona to not proceed with the formation of the national reconciliation commission." Under the terms of the peace plan, each nation was to form a national commission to verify compliance provisions of the accord dealing with amnesty, human rights and democratic elections.

Custodio also reported there is "a markedly negative attitude" by the Salvadoran and Honduran foreign ministers that is designed to obstruct the formation of the international verification and control commission which will oversee the terms of the accord. These countries might be placing obstacles in the way of the formation of the commission, said Custodio, because they fear that the commission "could become a forum in which the human rights groups and relatives of the disappeared could present their complaints."

Custodio praised groups like Human Rights Commission of El Salvador for deciding to work openly, despite threats to its members. "Armed with a real moral strength, they came out approximately one year ago to do their work publicly," said Custodio. "The death of Herbert Anaya is, unfortunately, a very high price to pay for that decision." **–Mike Tangeman**

A reactionary gleam from the Lone Star State

For the first time since anti-apartheid demonstrations began sweeping the nation's campuses, student protesters have been sentenced to jail. Set at the University of Texas (UT) in Austin, the story of the "UT 16" has turned into a classic Lone Star drama.

Although the University of Texas has a conservative reputation, in the spring of 1986 the campus erupted in a series of anti-apartheid protests in which 242 students were arrested. UT later dropped charges against them. Given the momentum of the spring protests, students gathered last fall to plan further actions.

Sixteen UT students, most of whom had not previously known each other, decided to take over the president's office. The nine women and seven men ranged in ages from 17 to 38, from lower to upper class, from liberal arts major to computer wizard. They included such opposites as Catherine Arnold, a sorority girl and daughter of an Austin doctor, and Dan Gohl, a long-haired physics major who was involved in successful divestment campaigns at Vassar and Dartmouth.

At 7:45 a.m. on Oct. 20, 1986, the 16 students barricaded themselves inside President William Cunningham's office, demanding that the university—the largest in the country holding out against divestment—sell its South African-related stocks. Twenty-five minutes later, about 20 campus police stormed the office, breaking the glass door, overturning the desks, clubbing one student in the face, dislocating another's knee and picking up another by the ears. The students were taken to the county jail and released 11 hours later on personal bonds.

This September, County Court-at-law Judge Leslie Taylor, accusing the students of "terrorist-style tactics," sentenced 12 of them to jail terms ranging from three to six months for "disruptive activity." Chester Wilson, 38, was given the crime's maximum six-month sentence because, Taylor said, he is "old enough to know better." Four protesters did not appear at the trial. Three of them later were arrested on campus and received probation and fines and the fourth is in Washingotn, D.C., and does not plan to return.

In a vicious closing commentary Judge Taylor acknowledged that "all right-thinking people believe apartheid to be immoral." She then lambasted prosecuting attorney Ken Oden for recommending probation. "The county attorney is sending an inconsistent message to the community," she said. "Why does he bother to expend the effort and expense necessary to prosecute these cases and then ask the court to render a meaningless verdict?"

For his part, Oden said he was shocked at the judge's animosity and attributed the harsh sentences to her impatience with the students' "uppity attitude."

The students were far from contrite. "I don't think I committed a crime," said Gohl, who received five months. "She really believes that we are a threat to her concept of society, and maybe we are."

All of those convicted are now free on appeal. Some Austin businesses are so outraged at the sentences that they have rushed to the aid of the UT 16, trying to raise $10,000 for appeal costs. And the UT faculty and the student senate have passed resolutions criticizing the sentences.

The university administration, however, remains in its ivory tower as does the board of regents. Both maintain that the university would lose $25 million if it divested. As of August 1986, $871 million of the university's $3.6 billion endowment fund was invested in companies doing business in South Africa.

All the students had cited the necessity defense, public duty law and international law in the trial. They essentially argued that their actions were protected by these laws because they were trying to prevent a far greater wrong, that of apartheid. But Taylor denied the use of all three defenses and refused to allow key witnesses to testify. Those refusals will be grounds for appeal, said Virginia Raymond, one of the UT 16 lawyers.

The lawyers will also appeal Taylor's refusal to disqualify several apparently biased jury members. These included one man who said he could not judge fairly people with orange hair (protester Justin McCoy dyed a patch of his hair orange for the trial) and another, an IBM employee, who disagreed with his company's partial withdrawal from South Africa.

–Jane Juffer

"movies, TV, videos" and are even "taken to the beach"; that the ministry is "looking into the possibility of setting up a craft shop so they can work." Her report also leaves the impression that gays in Cuba don't have it so bad, when in fact homophobia in Cuba is all but institutionalized. And for those who have any remaining qualms about Cuba's AIDS policy, rest assured that science is at work. "The method of quarantine in a sanatorium isn't permanent," explains Terry. "It will be treated dialectically. We are studying the situation and when we see that it is not the correct solution, or that other possibilities offer themselves, we will act accordingly—always basing our decision on scientific data. Otherwise we wouldn't be scientists."

Tokers and smokers

On this, the 50th anniversary of the first federal law outlawing the use of marijuana, it is interesting to note that in some segments of the population the war on drugs has been less effective than the crusade against cigarettes. According to a study of 10th grade students published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 14.4 percent of boys and 15.9 percent of girls smoke marijuana "at least monthly" but less than "almost every day." The study further found that 13.6 percent of boys and 15.2 percent of girls smoke tobacco "at least monthly" but less than "almost every day." Said Dale Gieringer of California's National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML), "We did a survey and found the same thing. Although marijuana usage is down over previous years, it is interesting to note that when people smoke anything they'd just as soon smoke marijuana as tobacco."

"Buz" in the air

Rep. "Buz" Lukens (R-OH), the congressman who plans to cultivate the capitalist spirit in Nicaraguan refugees with bilingual games of Monopoly (see "In Short," Nov. 4), has taken to the airwaves. A congressional aide anonymously sent *In These Times* a "Dear Colleague" letter Lukens recently distributed. Writing on behalf of both *Radio Liberacion*, a CIA-sponsored station that broadcasts the contra cause to Nicaragua, and Pedro Chamorro, member of the contra directorate and co-editor of *La Prensa*, Lukens offers his fellow congressmen the chance to go on the air to "boost the morale of freedom fighters, who fear the U.S. may abandon the cause of freedom." Says Lukens, "Until now, the contras have supplied the key military pressure necessary to restore democracy. They have helped drag the Sandinista economy down.... We must not desert the freedom fighters now. Their struggle is our struggle." Lukens' office reports the radio project is "going fine," that several of the 25 congressmen who have sent their "personal message to Nicaragua" are now "doing radio spots on a daily basis." The official who supplied the letter said his office had considered sending a message to the contras. "I thought that we should respond by encouraging the contras to surrender."

Left wins in San Francisco

It appears likely that left-leaning California Assemblyman Art Agnos will be the next mayor of San Francisco. In an 11-way race Agnos captured 48 percent of the vote on November 3, 23 points ahead of second-place finisher Supervisor John Molinari. Molinari, a Republican who turned Democrat in 1982, is considered the candidate of the city's pro-development business interests. The strength of Agnos' victory was a surprise. Most recent polls had put both men at about 30 percent of the vote. Since Agnos failed, barely, to capture a majority, he will meet Molinari again in a December 8 runoff, which he is expected to win. The assemblyman's strong showing indicates both the strength of California's anti-development movement and the ability of San Francisco's left to work in coalition. Molinari's poor showing spells trouble for his supporter, outgoing Mayor Dianne Feinstein and her senatorial ambitions. Agnos' career, on the other hand, may just be beginning to bloom.

Our best

Michael Harrington, the best-known and most eloquent spokesman for democratic socialism in the U.S., had an operation November 4 for cancer of the esophagus. A second operation is being scheduled, at which time it will be determined whether his larynx needs to be removed. Harrington is co-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America, an occasional contributor to *In These Times* and, most recently, author of *The Next Left: The History of the Future* (see page 19).

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Making a killing from AIDS drugs

By Kathryn Phillips
LOS ANGELES



ONE DAY LAST MARCH, ABOUT A WEEK AFter the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) agreed to allow widespread distribution of the AIDS-fighting drug AZT, a standing-room-only audience packed a seminar room at a Los Angeles hotel. Among the crowd were doctors and nurses, public health officers and private health-care advocates. There

MEDICINE

were people who had AIDS and people who knew people who had AIDS. And they had all come to find out about this drug, the first real hope in the fight against Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.

Their instructors were to be two university researchers who had helped conduct human tests of the drug and a representative of Burroughs-Wellcome Co. which manufactures AZT (later named retrovir). The researchers showed up, but the company representative did not.

The previous month Burroughs-Wellcome had set the price for the new drug. A year's worth of the AZT would cost the average AIDS patient from $7,000 to $10,000, sometimes more.

Why? That question was at the top of the list that the crowd wanted to ask the company representative, but never had the chance to.

Two months later eight people, all members of Citizens for Medical Justice in San Francisco, travelled to a Burroughs-Wellcome warehouse in Burlingame, Calif. They asked a warehouse manager to telecopy a message to the company's North Carolina headquarters expressing the group's outrage at the drug's exorbitant price.

"Our demands were that they stop profiteering around AZT," group member John Belskus recalled recently. "We feel there's a lot of stock market profiteering."

The warehouse manager refused to relay the message, so the group sat down until police were called in to haul them off to the San Mateo County jail, where they were released eight hours later. Citizens for Medical Justice has yet to receive a satisfactory explanation of the drug's high cost from Burroughs-Wellcome, Belskus said.

These incidents show that in a system in which the seller can set any price the buyer is willing to pay, pharmaceutical companies developing AIDS drugs hold all the cards. Those who want to know whether the prices are fair, much less humane, get the equivalent of the corporate cold shoulder.

When AZT was first released, and over the succeeding months, Burroughs-Wellcome said that the complex and costly process required to develop and manufacture the drug accounted for its high price. But the company has never released figures about how much it cost to research and develop the drug. It will say only, through its spokeswoman Kathy Bartlett, that it earmarked $80 million for raw materials and plant expansion to accommodate the demand for AZT. Bartlett said the company has not spent all of that sum, but would not say how much was spent.

Nor, for now, will the company say how much it has earned from AZT. *Fortune* magazine reported in April that since Wellcome, the British parent company of Burroughs-Wellcome, went public in January 1986, investors had drive up its stock by 360 percent. No doubt a sizable chunk of that stockbuyer interest came from the company's involvement in AIDS drug research.

Mixed blessing: For people with AIDS and people involved in battling AIDS, AZT has been a mixed blessing. On the one hand it has held some hope of at least temporarily staying the disease that has struck nearly 45,000 people in the U.S. since 1981, killing more than 25,000 of them. On the other hand, it represents one of the most public—though not necessarily the grossest—examples of apparent profiteering from AIDS.

Indeed, stopping AIDS is becoming a big business. Only a few years ago venture capitalists and wild-eyed investors hoping to reap multi-digit returns on their investments ran with their dollars to the computer and semiconductor industries. Now they're running to drug companies linked to AIDS research.

The market for AIDS products is "expected to be a very lucrative market," said Manny Ratafia, president of Technology Management Group, a consulting firm in New Haven, Conn. He estimates that by 1996, the worldwide market for AIDS-related products, from diagnostic tests to drugs to condoms, will be about $3 billion.

Technology Management Group has published a directory of companies and organizations in the AIDS-products industry. In 1986, the directory listed 304 manufacturing companies worldwide, 157 of them located in the U.S. This year the directory listed 786 manufacturing companies worldwide, 633 of them in the U.S. And that doesn't include the hundreds of other research organizations that Ratafia estimates are active in the AIDS industry.

Business publications such as the *Wall Street Journal*, *Barron's* and *Fortune* have tracked the AIDS industry, sometimes with cautious but cheerful advice about which companies are most active and safest for investors.

One advantage Burroughs-Wellcome has over other drug companies racing to cash in on AIDS is that it has a drug on the market inthe U.S. The other companies' products are still being developed or tested for use here. The American Foundation for AIDS Research reports that currently more than 75 AIDS drugs are being developed and tested.

Special treatment: This advantage irritates and frustrates people with AIDS and their advocates. More drugs should have been approved by now, they say, and they raise the drug ribavirin as an example of one they believe has been given short shrift by the federal government, especially the FDA.

"AZT got very special treatment," said Jean O'Leary, executive director of National Gay Rights Advocates. ICN Pharmaceuticals, which manufactures ribavirin, "is being treated unfairly," she added.

The FDA insists that it has treated ICN fairly (see accompanying story). But FDA treatment, fair or unfair, certainly hasn't stopped ICN from trying to profit from the epidemic—and apparently handsomely so.

In 1984 the U.S. Centers for Disease Control discovered that in test-tube experiments ribavirin inhibited the AIDS virus. Almost immediately ICN began two sets of human tests. It also began an aggressive ribarivin cam-

Continued on page 10

Delay in U.S. approval of ribavirin adds to frustration of people with AIDS

It's a truism that an industry being regulated hates its regulator. The drug industry's relationship with the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) is no exception.

For decades drug companies have complained that the agency takes too much time to determine whether a drug is safe and effective.

The FDA admits that it can take six or more years for some drugs to wind their way through the bureaucracy after clinical tests have been conducted. But the average amount of time it takes from the end of a test to licensing is about 24 months, said FDA spokesman Brad Stone. AIDS drugs have been given top priority in reviews, according to Stone, and the agency points to the less than four months it took to review AZT as an example of FDA's new policy.

So what's the problem with ribavirin? Why is it taking so long for that drug to get through?

First, Stone said, the agency wasn't convinced by the test information ICN Pharmaceuticals presented earlier this year that the drug was safe. So the agency asked for more data. Press reports indicate that both FDA officials and the scientific community at large were frustrated by ICN's slowness and apparent reluctance to make important test data available for agency and outside evaluation. A company spokesman, however, said that ICN responded to all of the FDA's requests.

Once all the data was in, ICN decided to drop its request that the drug be licensed immediately and instead applied to conduct another clinical test. The FDA responded to that application within days, Stone said, and in October the company announced it would be conducting tests on 32 more AIDS patients.

The ribavirin delay added to already mounting frustration among people with AIDS and their advocates about the inavailability of effective AIDS drugs.

Last spring some of that frustration was vented during a meeting of gay and lesbian community leaders in West Hollywood, Calif. State Attorney General John Van de Kamp was at the meeting and, his aides said, was so moved that he decided to draft some unusual legislation designed to open an alternative route for drug companies that want to test their drugs on humans.

The measure, which sailed through California's legislature in September and was quickly signed by the governor, provides money to the state's department of health services to force it to exercise its existing power to grant California companies permission to test experimental drugs on humans. By applying to the state, the companies would not need FDA approval before conducting clinical tests.

The FDA, however, would still be responsible for reviewing the test results and licensing the drug for general sale. So ultimately the bill may have only a minor impact, if any, on the speed with which AIDS drugs are made available.

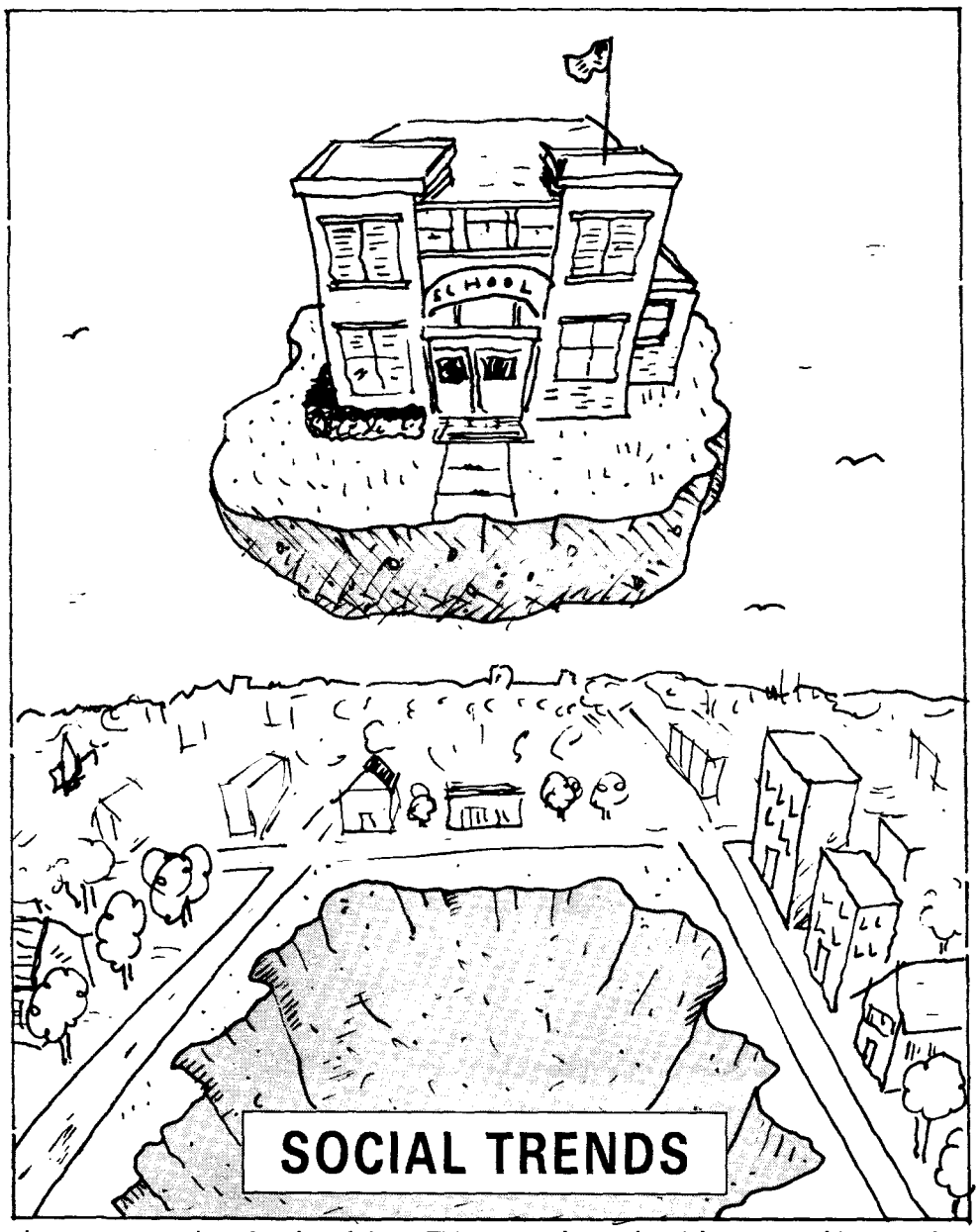
Nevertheless, the law's proponents believe it will expand the number of clinical tests in which people with AIDS can volunteer to participate.

Already ICN is considering taking advantage of the new measure to expand its testing of ribavirin, a company spokesman said. **–K.P.**

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Breaking away: growing debate on black autonomy

By Salim Muwakkil



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THE '80S HAVE NOT BEEN KIND TO AFRICAN-Americans. Virtually every sphere of social life for most blacks has deteriorated during this decade and there are full-fledged crises in education, health, employment, housing, family stability and on down the line.

Even among the few who have prospered—those black urban professionals, "Buppies," who came into their own during this decade—a "glass ceiling" crisis has appeared; they're blocked from access to real executive power. And these crises coexist with developments like growing black power at the polls, the Nielsen triumphs of Bill Cosby and the enormous celebrity of Michael Jackson.

Black nationalists and, to a lesser extent, black conservatives have long made the argument that successes in electoral politics and pop culture are, at best, irrelevant to the black community's well-being. In fact, many have insisted that those pursuits distract from the more important task of building institutions that serve the people's needs.

Typically, their voices are drowned out by civil rights leaders who charge them with "reverse racism." This old-line elite promote their own validation by touting the Cosbys and the various Jacksons as torchbearers for Dr. Martin Luther King's famous interracial dream. They credit those successes to the civil rights movement's strategy of desegregation and electoral activity.

The decline in the black community's quality of life, however, has dimmed the luster of the civil rights agenda.

Since those methods have done little to improve blacks' overall economic status—for example, the yearly median family income of blacks in 1968 was 60 percent that of whites, but in 1985 that figure dropped to 57.6 percent—the civil rights movement's strategies are increasingly being questioned. And there are growing indications that black nationalists are providing some of the answers.

The Milwaukee plan: A coalition of black leaders in Milwaukee has proposed a separate school system be established for the city's predominantly black school district. The proposal, initially ridiculed as a separatist fantasy dreamed up by frustrated radicals, seems to be gaining some steam in the black community; a recent public hearing on the issue attracted unexpected crowds.

Some of the proposal's strongest critics also are black, most of whom insist it would be a step backward in racial progress. A spokesman for the city's NAACP branch says it "would be turning our back on the dream of Dr. Martin Luther King." Although the debate's specific focus is education, it touches on concerns that may well be primary issues of black Americans in the '90s.

The district's drop-out rates hover near 50 percent and test scores on academic achievement tests are notoriously low. The coalition argues that those problems can best be solved by decentralizing the system and allowing black residents to assume increased control over how their children are educated.

"The Milwaukee school system is too large and its bureaucracy too entrenched to allow for sufficient change," says state Rep. Annette "Polly" Williams, one of four blacks in the Wisconsin state legislature and one of the proposal's strongest supporters. "Our children simply are not being educated and the state system has abandoned them. This is a serious challenge to an institution that's been paid to do the job and is not doing it."

A lost generation: The coalition, composed of a wide spectrum of community leadership, proposes to create a district consisting of one high school, one middle school and seven elementary institutions. The proposal seeks to carve out a separate and autonomous district from a school population that is already 98 percent black. "It's a systemic issue," says Howard Fuller, dean of education at the Milwaukee Area Technical College and the proposal's prime mover. "We've already effectively lost one entire generation of black kids because they weren't educated. We can't afford to lose another one. The system, as it exists, is incapable of educating our children and black children have a right to be educated."

The civil rights movement's strategies are increasingly being questioned. There are indications that black nationalists are providing some of the answers.

Williams contends the city's resources have been chronically maldistributed and that the imbalance is institutional. Moreover, she adds, "the bureaucratic inertia is so strong that the system can't respond to new exigencies and we need the freedom to try new things. We're in a crisis situation and we need the latitude to take whatever steps may be necessary."

The 50-year-old legislator has been in the statehouse for eight years and is a member of the education committee. She contends the city of Milwaukee uses disadvantaged minority students to increase its level of federal and state funding but that it then uses the money to enhance specialty or "magnet" schools that don't serve those needy minority students.

Resegregation: Critics of the proposal contend it plays into the hands of racists. A group of prominent blacks who have formed a group called the Milwaukee Afro-American Council see the plan as a backward step because, according to a spokesman for the group, "it would negate virtually everything we've accomplished over our 400-plus-year struggle to gain equal access to the social resources of this country."

Williams ridicules that response as "absolutely ridiculous." She says a stringent kind of *de facto* segregation already exists, "and they're not denouncing that as a negation of our struggle. The area we're talking about is already 98 percent black and other minorities; it's already separated from the academic mainstream.

"There are 432 school districts in the state of Wisconsin; 431 of them are already predominantly white. Nobody's calling them separatists," she adds. "We just want to create one more to give us a chance to see what we can do with our own children when we have real control."

Most observers predict the effort will fail. In order to be implemented the proposal has to be approved by the overwhelmingly white state legislature, and Wisconsin's white population is said to be solidly against it. Mainline black organizations like the NAACP and the Urban League also have denounced the plan. But supporters claim they have already won by focusing the public's consciousness on the educational crisis in the black community.

Mandela, Mass.: Last year residents of Boston voted down a referendum proposing to secede a predominantly black, 12.5 square-mile area from the city and create a separate municipality to be called Mandela, in honor of jailed black South African leader Nelson Mandela.

The non-binding referendum was sponsored by a group of blacks who argued that their community's meager resources were being drained by the city without an equitable return; that the black community was being intentionally "underdeveloped" to help fuel Boston's vaunted boom; and that incorporation as an independent municipality was the best solution.

Although the idea was vetoed by a three-to-one margin, the fact that it was seriously discussed as a plausible solution represents a new development in this country's political culture. What's more, it was supported by a wide spectrum of the city's black leadership, including former state Rep. Melvin King, a politician who has gained a reputation on the left as someone committed to social and racial justice.

In 1979 and 1983 King ran for mayor of Boston and he ran for Congress in 1986. Many of his former political allies were mystified by his support for what was generally regarded as a separatist fantasy. King didn't see it that way. "I think the idea of incorporation is a great move," King told the *Boston Globe*. "When people say they want independence and to run things themselves...it is a mature thing to do."

City Council President Bruce Bolling, who is black, opposed the secession referendum, but acknowledges the frustration that fueled it. "Whether or not you support Mandela, it's clear that the residents of greater Roxbury are not in support of the inequities of the status quo," Bolling said during a news conference prior to the election that defeated the measure.

Andrew Jones, co-founder of the Greater Roxbury Incorporation Project—the formal name of the secessionist movement—said at the time that the action was an attempt to empower the underserved and "underdeveloped" people of Boston's black community. "We're talking about taking control of our own situation and our resources so that we can build our own economic base," he said. To help make his case, Jones regularly contrasted the dismal statistics that sum up life for blacks in Boston's ghetto with the signs of vitality produced by the city's economic boom.

Rev. Charles Stith was one of the black community's most vocal opponents of the measure. Like Bolling, he conceded its appeal but said support for the action was tantamount to "surrender" in the battle for racial justice. In a speech several weeks before the proposal's defeat, Stith said he understood the "anger and frustration of those who call for secession." But, he added, "the point

Continued on page 16

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By Miles Harvey

'New McCarthyism' aimed at U.S. offices of the PLO

IT IS ONE OF THE MOST COMPLEX, IRONIC AND—to civil libertarians—disturbing stories to come out of the nation's capital this year. The last few months have seen Congress and the Reagan administration tripping over each other in a race to silence the American voices of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). And along the way, according to critics, the Constitution has been trampled.

A confusing political process is beginning to wind down with equally confusing results:

- The State Department has ordered the PLO-funded Palestine Information Office (PIO) in Washington, D.C., closed. That's the same State Department that had earlier insisted the office "is entitled to operate under the protection provided by the First Amendment of the Constitution." The office, which serves as an information and research bureau for the PLO, has until December 1 to close its doors, barring court intervention (see accompanying story).
- Congress has come close to passing legislation that would go further than the State Department's action by closing both the PIO and the PLO's observer mission at the United Nations. The battle over the legislation has at times pitted strange bedfellows like liberal Sen. Paul Simon (D-IL) and conservative Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) against equally strange bedfellows—the Reagan administration and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

As *In These Times* went to press the legislation—known as the Grassley Amendment—was in the hands of a group of lawmakers meeting to iron out differences in House and Senate versions of the State Department authorization bill. It was not clear whether this panel, the Foreign Relations Authorization conference committee, would leave the amendment intact, all but ensuring its passage.

Jumping on the bandwagon: As a staunch ally of Israel, the U.S. has never recognized the PLO. And the organization's legal presence here has long been a point of friction.

The PLO opened its first office in the U.S.—the observer mission at the U.N.—in 1974, following a U.N. resolution that accepted the group as the representative of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian Information Office in Washington was set up in 1978.

Pro-Israel groups have been trying to get the government to close both offices since their doors opened. With the 1988 elections drawing near, the pro-Israel lobby finally found strong congressional backing. Last May Sen. Charles Grassley (R-IA), along with Republican presidential candidate Robert Dole (R-KS) and Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), introduced a bill that would in effect close both the U.S. PLO offices.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

The legislation was quickly denounced by Mideast peace organizations and civil liberties groups. "It's a gross violation of the rights of Americans to associate with foreign political movements and to advocate their views in the U.S.," says the American Civil Liberties Union's Susan Benda. Several leading daily newspapers also ran editorials against the bill, citing civil liberties concerns.

But with the backing of pro-Israel organizations, the legislation nonetheless gained momentum in Congress. While Rep. Jack Kemp (R-NY)—another GOP presidential hopeful—sponsored a similar bill in the House, senators were scrambling to co-sponsor the Grassley legislation. Joining right-wingers like Helms on the list of 50 Senate co-sponsors were some usually pro-civil-liberties lawmakers like Democratic presidential hopeful Simon, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) and Sen. Barbara Mikulski (D-MD).

Ironically, the Reagan administration appeared to oppose congressional efforts to shut down the PLO offices. Last May, for example, the State Department asserted that "the continued existence of the PLO Information Office in Washington neither reflects nor requires the approval of the U.S. government."

Yet it appears that the administration was most worried about the PLO office at the U.N. Closing down the New York office might violate international law—the U.N. Headquarters Agreement—and the U.S. risked being taken to the International Court of Justice over the matter. There was also the risk that such a shutdown would backfire: the U.N. General Assembly might attempt to further raise the PLO's diplomatic status in an effort to protect the office.

An arrangement: As congressional support for the Grassley and Kemp bills grew, the administration discovered a compromise was necessary. And compromise it did: On September 14 representatives from 40 Jewish organizations meeting in New York OK'd a deal with the State Department, according to *Washington Jewish Week*.

The groups reportedly agreed to drop their demands that the PLO office at the United Nations be shut down, and to withdraw their support for the Grassley-Kemp legislation. In return the State Department reportedly agreed to sacrifice the PLO's Washington facility.

The State Department ordered closed a Washington office affiliated with the PLO. And Congress may close the PLO observer mission at the U.N. as well.

The next day the State Department announced the office would be closed. Despite the department's earlier assertions that the PIO was protected by the Constitution, the administration said it had found legal justification for the move through a bureaucratic juggling of the office's diplomatic classification.

To explain the shutdown, a department spokesman cited "U.S. concern over terrorism committed and supported by organizations and individuals affiliated with the PLO." But critics claim the PLO has been connected to much less terrorist activity of late, and that if terrorism were the real motivation, the shutdown would have happened long ago.

Furthermore, not even the administration contends that the office or any of its staff have been involved in terrorism. All eight people who work at the office are either U.S. citizens or legal residents.

The ACLU is planning to go to court to keep the office's doors open. The civil liberties group says it will base its arguments on the First Amendment and the Foreign Missions Act. The ACLU's Benda claims that if the PIO is closed, all sorts of foreign groups with political offices in the U.S. could someday be victims of similar action—including, for instance, the U.S.-backed Nicaragua contras.

The ultimate irony of the State Department's intrigues is that they have not yet even accomplished their apparent goal. As *In These Times* went to press, the Grassley legislation was still very much alive. It was added as one of 86 amendments to the Senate's State Department authorization bill, which was approved 85-8 in early October.

"The whole thing is like a new McCarthyism," concludes Hilda Silverman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Anti-Palestinian Legislation. "It's a hysteria." □

Closing PLO office may be foreign relations disaster

The State Department's decision to close down the Palestine Information Office (PIO) in Washington, D.C., appears to have been a diplomatic comedy of errors that could mean significant damage to U.S. international standing.

Despite a State Department official's assertion that "we don't cut deals with interest groups," there's strong evidence—much of it reported in *Washington Jewish Week*—that the PIO closing was indeed the result of an agreement, whether implicit or explicit, between the department and several pro-Israel groups. The unusual arrangement left the U.S. government open to the charge that a key foreign policy decision was determined by backroom political dealings rather than national interests.

Pro-Israel groups are claiming the shutdown as a victory in their efforts to undercut the PLO's stature in the Mideast equation. Yet in maneuvering for the shutdown, the State Department may have symbolically upgraded the status of the office and its director, Hassan Abdul Rahman.

Since it was established in 1978, the office had been operating under the terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The State Department had no power to shut down the PIO under that law. However, it did have such powers under the Foreign Missions Act. So the department was forced to change the PIO's status to that of a mission.

"Ironically," reported the conservative *Washington Times*, "this makes Mr. Abdul Rahman—the representative of an organization the U.S. does not recognize—the head of a foreign mission, the equivalent of a U.S. ambassador." A State Department official refutes this analysis, saying the department's move "does not confer any kind of diplomatic status."

The PLO is currently recognized by some 150 countries. Therefore, shutting down its information office seems sure to further damage U.S. credibility abroad. And that credibility is especially important as the U.S. tries to assert itself as a mediator in the Mideast peace process.

"The U.S.' move to close the Palestinian Information Office in Washington plays directly into the hands of Mideast extremists—Arab, Israeli and Iranian—the enemies of the U.S. and the enemies of peace," said former U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia James E. Akins.

The U.S. has some 40 information centers similar to the PIO in Arab and Moslem countries. The State Department's action risks retaliatory closings from those nations.

And ironically, the move may not even end up closing the PIO. Under the Foreign Missions Act, the government can only bar from the U.S. foreign-funded and controlled entities. Even if the shutdown survives court challenges, supporters of the office are vowing to keep it open with domestic rather than PLO funds. —M.H.

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Democrats shine in an environmental debate

By Dick Russell

MANCHESTER, N.H.

IN WHAT GLOBAL TOMORROW COALITION President Jan Hartke afterward termed "the most important discussion of environmental issues in the history of American politics," five Democratic presidential aspirants addressed the worldwide ecological crisis in a two-hour roundtable discussion here on November 1.

Except for Alexander Haig, who spoke for 20 minutes in the hotel lobby beforehand, the invited Republican candidates were conspicuously absent. Richard Gephardt, citing a "family commitment," was the only Democratic contender not in attendance. The others—Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis, Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore, Illinois Sen. Paul Simon, former Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt, and Rev. Jesse Jackson—all eloquently tackled the complexities of toxic waste, acid rain, groundwater pollution, nuclear energy, the ozone layer and other global dilemmas.

Yet although, as the Sierra Club's Washington lobbyist on clean air issues Daniel Weiss said later, "you can measure the difference between the Democrats in inches and with the Republicans in canyons," a clear delineation in approach emerged among the candidates. Gore, who mounted a steady attack on Reagan administration policies and appointees, offered the clearest global perspective. Babbitt proved strong on personal experiences, showing his concrete responses to crises that he faced in Arizona.

Dukakis, in contrast, stressed high-tech solutions and the link between jobs and environmental protection, as well as cooperation between regions, but came in for the only strongly negative audience response for his support of the need for trash-to-energy incinerators. Simon, who stood tall on alternative energy development, pressed the need for more research in all areas. And Jackson emphasized his usual "people power," though without the flair that his public comments often have and despite his erroneous and repeated assertion that incinerators are a primary cause of the atmospheric ozone-depletion problem.

"The focus on international issues is a big change from four years ago," observed Geoff Webb, international conservation director for Friends of the Earth in Washington. Indeed, Dukakis was only the first at this gathering to call for a presidential summit conference on environmental protection with equal importance to arms control summits. This consensus built throughout the afternoon, with even Haig opining that it is a necessity.

Following is how the candidates responded on other topics:

•Toxic waste: Jackson took probably the hardest line, saying that "we need to focus on the sources, not react to the byproducts. Prevention, halting production" where necessary, is tantamount. Gore noted that 750 "Superfund" priority clean-up sites exist, with 200 more soon to be added, yet only 14 have been dealt with. "We have the legislation and it's time we forced the polluters to pay," Dukakis added to loud applause. While Dukakis asserted that the EPA "has done a lousy job of assisting the states" in this regard, Simon took the agency to task for putting only 3 to 4 percent of its budget into research and development of alternatives. The best track record on toxics belongs to Gore, co-author of the Superfund law.

•Trash incineration: This proved the day's hottest subject. Dukakis and Jackson squared off after Martha Bailey, chairman of the New Hampshire Toxic Hazards Campaign, attacked incinerators as a "quick fix" that will only increase airborne dioxin levels and result in toxic ash residues. Dukakis maintained that he has no choice, "as the governor of an industrial state that is running out of landfill space, but to advocate some resource recovery" (trash-to-energy incineration plants). He added that Massachusetts is the only state to have designated the ash as a hazardous substance (New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, for example, refused to do so). But the controversy over incinerator siting remains red-hot in New England.

Jackson countered that "while it may be necessary to have a brief interim period of incineration, we must take the lead toward making use of the best recycling experiments now going on in Philadelphia and East Hampton, N.Y., and not just react when our backs are up against the wall." Asked by panel moderator Sander Vanocur if it is cost that prevents more emphasis on new recycling methods, Dukakis replied: "The problem is, there is no market to recycle all this stuff, and some of it is just not recyclable." But, parried Jackson, that's because the major industries have chosen incineration over recycling.

• **Energy:** Dukakis was clearly on firmer ground when it came to nuclear power and the controversy over the Seabrook plant in his area. "Nuclear plants and waste are a legacy that threaten us all," he said. "If the Pharoahs had built Seabrook, the waste would still be with us. And if that plant opens, New Hampshire will be paying two to three times more for energy." Dukakis called for regional cooperation on energy, citing "trade-offs" such as the one he's negotiating for Texas to provide natural gas instead of nuclear material as the fuel for the Seabrook facility, and envisioning applying the Midwest's corn surplus toward making cleaner corn-based ethanol for gasoline products.

Babbitt urged recapturing the progress made in the early '70s on alternative energy such as photovoltaics. And Simon, who has introduced a bill to mandate that 50 percent of all gasoline have 10 percent ethanol content by 1992, cited his own solar home in Illinois and a refugee housing settlement that he visited on Cyprus, "built with U.S. tax dollars, every one with a solar heating unit. We ought to be able to do that here, too."

• **Groundwater pollution:** "We've neglected groundwater for a long time, because it's out of sight and out of mind," Babbitt began. "Let's face it, nobody ever popped a beer to enjoy a sunset looking across a body of groundwater." That line drew the biggest laugh of the day, but when he was governor of Arizona Babbitt was not kidding around. He spent months "hacking out" a landmark groundwater protection bill and then "shoved it down the throats of the Republican legislature.... We empowered the citizens to be policemen; you can't trust government to do the policing."

CAMPAIGN '88

Gore, citing a tripling of groundwater consumption in the U.S. over the past 30 years, went on: "Fifty percent of all our drinking water comes from groundwater, and we're creating 30,000 new chemical combinations every year, virtually none of them tested." Yet no federal groundwater statute exists, only, as Babbitt said, "a dictionary full of programs" on pesticides and other hazards. Simon said he'd increase research to find an inexpensive way of converting salt water to fresh water. Added Dukakis: "We have no ethic of efficiency. A lot of water can be recycled, especially industrial uses." He noted that Massachusetts and other states will initiate an ethanol-based derivative mixed with limestone to dissolve highway ice this winter, "something that does not contaminate groundwater or eat bridges."

The Dems "all have the right instincts, especially when you consider the competition."

• **Acid rain:** Dukakis, reciting examples of global deterioration from Poland and the Parthenon to the Massachusetts Statehouse, bemoaned, "We can't get the White House to act and there is paralysis in Congress." Gore said what's needed is "mandatory reduction [in sulfur dioxide emissions from coal plants] between 10 and 12 million metric tons by 1997," Simon, admitting he's bucking the tide in Illinois coal country, nonetheless wants to move forward on acid rain, "but in a way that will not penalize one region." Babbitt quickly responded that he didn't "understand all the equivocating. We must have new *standards on all* emissions and the polluter pays. We're downwind from Mexico, and Canada is downwind from the U.S. It's time to get a treaty and take it worldwide."

Jackson was challenged by Dr. Ian Nisbitt, president of a New England risk-assessment firm, for stating that environmental ills affect everyone equally. Nisbitt said, with some justification, that it's primarily farmers and workers who face not only the most direct difficulties with toxics but whose jobs are endangered by regulations. So, Nisbitt wondered, how did Jackson balance this with his campaign theme of "economic violence"?

"It's an illusion that only some are affected," Jackson replied. "The Latin American worker picks fruits and vegetables full of pesticides, but we buy and eat them, too. The effect may be on the very poor in the morning, but by sunset it affects everybody. They put these dumps in areas where they feel people will not have the impact to fight back, but we need to move away from the notion that there's a hiding place for environmental hazards and waste."

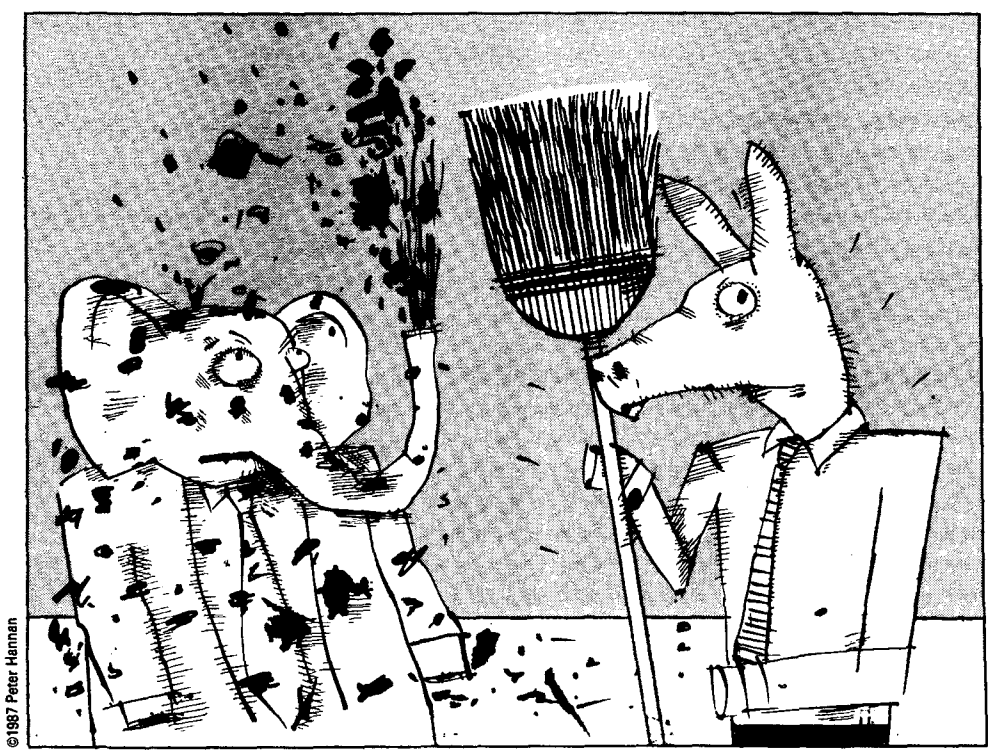
A lovefest: Afterward, environmental leaders seemed genuinely pleased with the candidates' knowledge and sense of urgency. "It's a lovefest—there's not much difference between them," said Denis Hayes, organizer of Earth Day in 1970. "But they all have the right instincts, especially when you consider their competition."

Some called for closer scrutiny of the candidates' records, though, since Gore and Simon, for example, have never signed on as sponsors of acid rain legislation. "Gore has alienated people with his hawkish attitude on defense and is trying to counter that by being greener-than-thou on environment," said Webb of Friends of the Earth. "I told his people they don't realize the extent to which these constituencies interrelate. But Gore does have a holistic understanding of the environment." Indeed, Gore and Babbitt drew the highest praise from many in attendance.

And it was obvious to all that the Republicans are perhaps hopelessly in arrears on the environmental issue. Although George Bush has begun touting the fact that a portrait of Theodore Roosevelt, the party's greatest conservationist, hangs in his office, Gore pointed out that Bush has been "a principal figure in undermining the environment by using the Office of Management and Budget to shackle the EPA [Environmental Protection Agency] and [Department of the] Interior."

Bob Dole has begun talking up the Clean Air Act as must-do legislation. But as Hartke of Global Tomorrow said, "The Republicans must now either play catch-up or be in danger of defaulting on the environment across the board. If this had been a debate on SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative], would they have made excuses not to show up?" □

Dick Russell writes regularly on environmental issues for several publications.



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AIDS drugs

Continued from page 6

paign aimed at the press and stock analysts.

The promotions hit their height last January when the company's flamboyant president, Milan Panic, announced that based on two ICN-sponsored clinical tests the FDA would soon approve ribavirin as an AIDS treatment. In fact, the FDA had not yet reviewed the tests, and when FDA officials did they weren't convinced the drug was both safe and effective.

Nevertheless, the hype campaign seemed to work to the company's advantage initially. The *Wall Street Journal* reported in February that during the previous 18 months ICN stock increased by 134 percent and the company raised $436 million to expand ICN's holdings. In addition, ICN executives apparently saw a chance to cash in on their stock. After the misleading January press conference, Panic and several other executives filed for permission from the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to sell their ICN stock.

But the campaign backfired after the *Wall Street Journal* reported that the SEC was investigating ICN for possible stock manipulation and insider trading. It wasn't Panic's first run-in with the SEC, the newspaper reported. With that story, ICN's stock tumbled.

The Mexico connection: Despite the tumble, and regardless of whether ribavirin is licensed for AIDS treatment in the U.S., ICN has continued to tap the wallets of AIDS patients here by selling the drug just across the border in Mexico. The drug is licensed for a variety of uses in about 30 countries. In the U.S. ribavirin can be sold only as an inhalant for a potentially fatal childhood respiratory ailment. In Mexico the drug is sold over-the-counter in pill form and hundreds of AIDS patients travel across the border each month to buy the drug, according to AIDS advocates. A month's supply for an AIDS patient costs between $400 and $700 in Tijuana.

ICN won't say how much of its annual sales come from ribavirin. But total company sales for the first nine months of this year came to about $84 million, nearly $14 million more than sales during the first nine months of 1986.

After a nine-month standoff between ICN and the FDA, the two organizations have called a truce of sorts. In early October the company announced that it had applied and been granted permission to run another clinical test on ribavirin. In addition ICN is preparing to run clinical tests in Canada and the United Kingdom, according to a company spokesman.

ICN seems hooked on the value of AIDS drugs—particularly to itself. In September it bought 6.5 percent of F. Hoffman-LaRoche, the giant Swiss drug and chemical company. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that a source close to the company said the purchase stemmed from ICN's desire to use LaRoche to establish a worldwide marketing network for ribavirin.

Perhaps more telling, though, is that only a few months earlier, Hoffman-LaRoche started clinical tests in the U.S. of its own hope for AIDS, a drug called DDC. Some believe the drug may work like Burroughs-Wellcome's AZT but produce fewer side effects. If that's true, Burroughs-Wellcome's profit loss could become ICN's dollar gain. And caught somewhere in-between, people with AIDS will still be paying big bills. □

Autonomy

Continued from page 7

of the matter is that just because you're tired of fighting the battle doesn't mean that the war must not be waged." Secession would help fuel the further polarization of Boston, he said. "We must learn to live together as people of wisdom or perish apart as fools."

Neo-nationalism: Arguments urging black Americans to form autonomous areas of self-rule and self-reliance have been around since the first or second slave ship landed. Paul Cuffee, Martin Delaney and Noble Drew Ali all found fame by promoting these ideas. White Americans have also urged such a separation, albeit with a different motivation.

In fact, the concordance of views between whites and blacks often discredited black proponents, earning them the label "accommodationist." Thus Booker T. Washington, who is probably the most celebrated black advocate of self-reliance, also is regarded widely as the quintessential Uncle Tom. Washington's program has been reevaluated in recent years; it turns out he was a "proto-nationalist."

Future advocates of separation learned from Booker T's experiences and they shrouded their programs in militant rhetoric. Marcus Garvey was the first to benefit from Washington's public relations mistakes. His Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) fused Washington's ideas of self-reliance with boisterous chest-thumping about Africa's gloried past. It worked so well that Garvey's group became the largest organization of black Americans in history.

Elijah Muhammad, who was a member of Garvey's UNIA, added religion to the mix. He railed against the God of Christianity and the "white devils" who enslaved the world with a verbal ferocity equal to none. At the same time, he demanded his followers lead the kind of insular, disciplined lives that would strain a Victorian's patience. His doctrine also encouraged a profound political quiescence.

Louis Farrakhan is of that tradition, but his controversial public presence is not Elijah's style. Farrakhan is generally respected among the advocates of this new nationalism because of his emphasis on self-sufficiency. The ideological entreaties of his Nation of Islam do not resonate with this new group. Theirs is a nationalism that's more pragmatic than ideological. "We're not mad at anybody," explains Howard Fuller, the prime mover of the Milwaukee proposal. "We just want our kids to have access to the best education they can receive."

Boston and Milwaukee are just two of several cities that have experienced major encounters with this developing black strategy. Others including East Palo Alto, Calif., Brooklyn, N.Y. and Columbia, Md. have had similar, though less publicized, encounters. The details vary in every situation, but the theme of self-determination is constant. And the rationale grows increasingly compelling as the economic picture bleakens.

This new mood is also being fueled by the emergence of an articulate cadre of young black conservatives, whose faith in the power of entrepreneurial activity borders on religious. The heirs of Booker T. Washington and millionaire entrepreneur William Gatson are finding common cause with the heirs of Garvey and Malcolm X. □

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FRANCE



Reuters Bettmann Newsphotos

Pierre Juquin wants to "renovate France's relations with the rest of the world."

Will a renegade candidacy mean a revival for the left?

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

PIERRE JUQUIN AND HIS FRIENDS HAVE GIVEN up trying to renovate the French Communist Party (PCF) and now are trying to renovate the French left instead. They hope Juquin's campaign for the presidential election next spring can succeed in reviving left-wing political activity.

After months of urging by the organized "Renovators," Juquin announced his independent candidacy during a TV interview on October 12. He was expelled from the party at an emergency meeting of the PCF Central Committee two days later. This marked a final split between the PCF and the Renovators, who are separating from the party to support Juquin. His candidacy is also supported by the largest remnants of the far left, Alain Krivine's Trotskyist *Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire* (LCR) and the shrunken *Parti Socialiste Unifié* (PSU), born a generation ago of opposition to the war in Algeria.

Anxious to keep his campaign from being either swallowed up by the vigorous Trotskyists or torn apart by the sectarianism endemic on the left, Juquin stresses that he is running as an independent, and has chosen a team from varied political backgrounds. He is emphasizing social movements, especially the unexpected student and railroad workers' strikes of a year ago and the youthful anti-racist movement. Their actions, according to Juquin, "have proved that major forces full of vitality exist in France." But, he said, these movements need a political project and he wants his candidacy to contribute to working out such a project.

Juquin, by profession a German teacher, is clearly inspired by the German Greens. His enthusiasts hope that he can succeed even better than the German Greens in combining the new with the old social movements—ecology, feminism and disarmament with parts of the workers' movement—because of his appeal to part of the traditional Communist area of influence.

His top staffers illustrate the blend he seeks: Alain Amicabile is a Communist Renovator from the depressed Lorraine industrial region; Kaissa Titous is a principal organizer of the anti-racist march in 1983 by second-generation North African immigrants; and David Assouline was the main spokesman of the student movement last November and December.

Juquin's candidacy must be appreciated in the context of a presidential election that is off to a particularly dismal start. The Socialist Party (PS) is holding its breath to see if President François Mitterrand decides to run again or not. The lackluster campaign of official Communist Party candidate André Lajoinie is not designed to bring the PCF out of its dogmatic ghetto. There is scarcely any debate over real issues as "cohabitation" between Mitterrand and the Conservative government of Jacques Chirac reduces the differences between right and left to subtle distinctions gleaned from Mitterrand's cryptic "petites phrases."

Instead there is a proliferation of scandals as the Socialists and the Conservatives rummage each other's closets for skeletons to unearth for the public. With indicators showing that 3 million people will be unemployed next year, a campaign based on scandals is likely to revive a latent French disgust with "the political class" that the National Front is positioning itself to exploit.

This makes the revival of a healthy and vigorous left urgently necessary.

By bringing issues into the campaign, he is breaking taboos set up by both left parties, the Socialists and the Communists, when they dropped their most principled positions a decade ago to prove they were fit to govern. Two of his campaign issues recall former positions of the established left parties: the right for immigrant residents to vote in local elections and nuclear disarmament.

In contrast to the "modernizing" craze propagated by France's ruling technocracy, Juquin uses the idea of renovation to suggest an alternative meaning of "modern." "What is modern is to give everyone a qualified and interesting job," he declared in his opening campaign statement. "What is modern is equality. I propose that immigrants be allowed to vote in the next municipal and European elections in 1989. I propose that the constitution be modified in such a way that elected assemblies and government bodies include as many women as men."

Finally, he wants to "renovate France's relations with the rest of the world." And since "what is modern is peace," Juquin proposes that France "do something striking in favor of disarmament by working out a defense that no longer depends on nuclear deterrence."

That would be striking indeed and runs contrary to the current consensus in the political class supporting nuclear weapons. But polls indicate Juquin is right to assume that there are silent anti-nuclear sentiments in the population.

He wonders whether France, "after Three Mile Island and Chernobyl, should stubbornly go on building nuclear power plants?" Nuclear power is the nation's number-one "modernity" status symbol. But Juquin suggests that "what is modern is to bring out sincerely all the aspects of scientific and technical problems," and he proposes "an honest and thorough debate on civilian nuclear power." This is a promise made by the Socialists and never delivered.

Starting asset: As party spokesman, Juquin acquired experience with the media and comes across well on television. He has an air of professorial modesty—of someone seeking the truth without claiming to possess it—that is quite unusual in French politics.

It is not certain that the media will give as much attention to Juquin the candidate as they did to Juquin the persecuted dissident in the Communist Party. His campaign may lack media visibility, especially since there is no daily newspaper friendly to his campaign. But Juquin is counting on news coverage, since his campaign cannot afford big advertising. Anyway, French billboards are already booked for the rest of the campaign—a fact Juquin says proves the established parties have more money than they admit.

He hesitated before announcing his candidacy because the operation is very risky. Juquin cannot be sure it will renovate the French left, but he can be sure that it will hasten the demolition of the Communist Party. By running against the official PCF candidate André Lajoinie, Juquin has set himself up to be the scapegoat for the Communists' inevitable bad showing.

The last remaining declared renovator in the Central Committee, Félix Damette, abstained from the vote expelling Juquin after reading a statement in which he first acknowledged that any party would expel someone who ran against it. But this was not a "simple case of lack of electoral discipline," Damette said. Rather, it was symptomatic of an opening "schism" recalling the "Spanish syndrome."

The Spanish Communist Party has nearly split itself to death in recent years. Fear of following a similar path to self-destruction has been a main factor enabling PCF leaders to silence dissent. Damette accused the leadership of deliberately bringing about a schism by branding the renovators as "liquidators" and rejecting their demands for broad political debate. Instead of an electoral campaign, Damette foresaw "a civil war between Communists."

Commenting that it was clear Damette supported Juquin, PCF Secretary General Georges Marchais specified that all Communists who support Juquin will also be expelled.

The process immediately got underway. In the days that followed, the Communist mayors of the towns of Bédarieux and Aigues-Mortes in southern France and Carhaix in Brittany found themselves booted out of the party. Undaunted, six PCF municipal counselors in the central city of Bourges, including two deputies to the Communist mayor, declared their support for Juquin.

"A grave political mistake": The prospect of destroying the PCF is admittedly one of the Juquin campaign's main attractions to many French leftists. It can also explain why the Italian Communist Party (PCI) newspaper *Unita* took an unexpectedly harsh view of the Juquin candidacy. PCI's veteran correspondent Augusto Pancaldi wrote from Paris: "Even admitting that Juquin obtains the 500 signatures of elected parliamentarians and mayors necessary to validate his candidacy (but in that case they would mostly be adversaries of the PCF), his electoral score will scarcely be large enough to modify the present political balance...."

Pancaldi concluded that "the 'Juquin case' is undoubtedly painful for thousands of French Communists who perhaps do not think that Juquin wants to 'play the Socialists' game,' but who are bound to recognize that, beyond even justified motivations, his candidacy has been a false step, if not a grave political mistake."

This disavowal was disappointing for the Renovators, who for years have taken the "Eurocommunist" Italian party as their model.

Juquin plans to avoid campaigning against Lajoinie. When asked whether he would "debate Lajoinie," Juquin said debate had already taken place and what he wanted to do was to take his campaign into poor neighborhoods where people are turning to the National Front. He wants to warn them "not to fall into the trap" of racism and fascism.

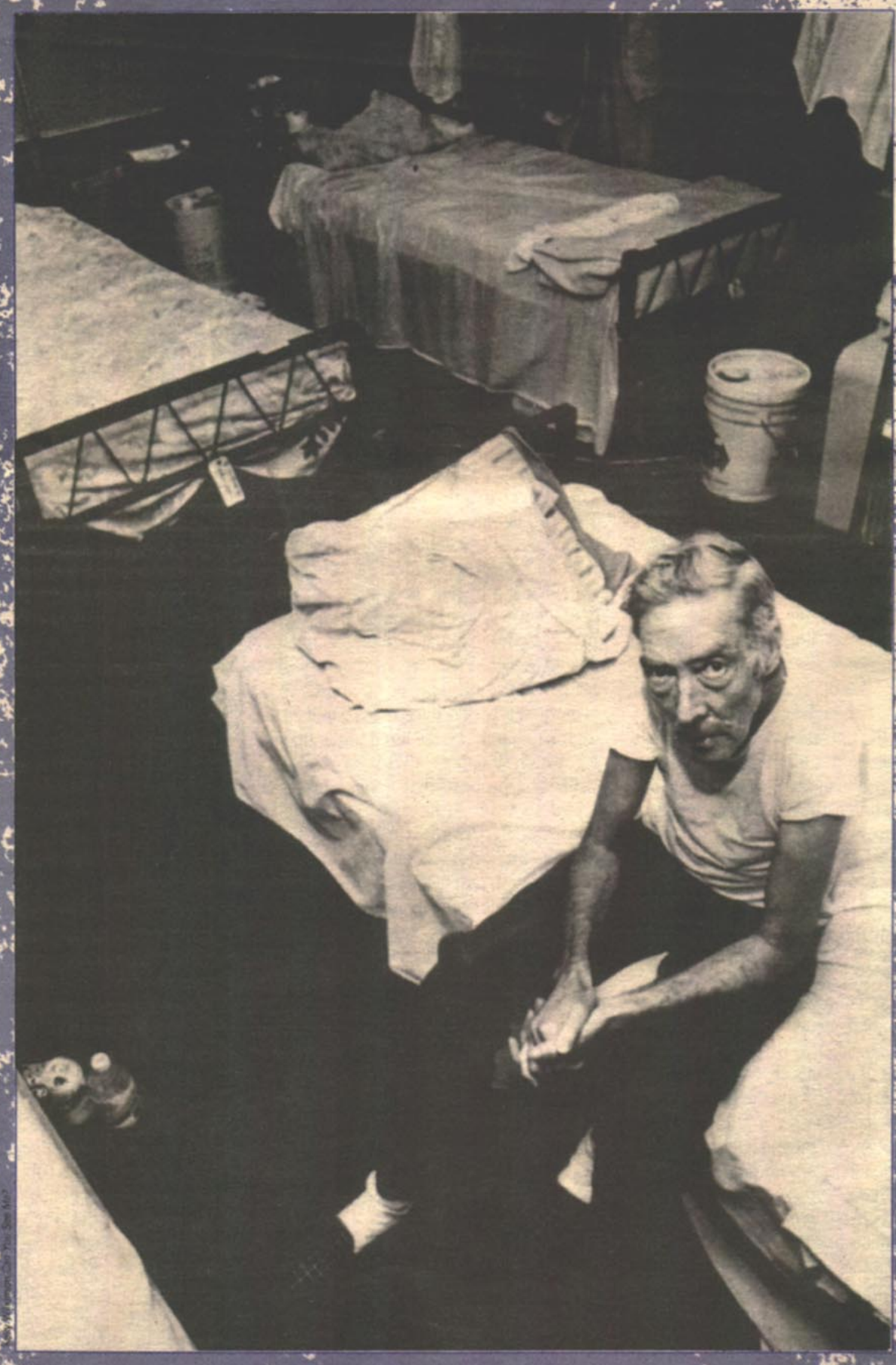
Juquin stresses that after his first round aimed at bringing out voters who might otherwise be discouraged, he will give full support in the second round to the leading left candidate.

The Communists' accusation that Juquin is "playing the Socialists' game" raises the question of just what game the Socialists are playing. There are many signs that Socialist leaders are playing a secret game over the heads and against the sentiments of the party rank and file, angling for compromise with a part of the existing right-wing majority in order to form a centrist majority in which the PS would be the biggest party. Insofar as the aim of party leaders is to get into office, this game is perfectly understandable. If the Communists are unable to get enough votes to fill out a majority on the left, the Socialists naturally look elsewhere to form a governing coalition.

If that is the Socialists' game, Juquin is not playing it. On the other hand, he is trying to revive a left strong enough to be a partner for the PS, and in that sense is certainly "playing the game" of all the rank-and-file Socialists who still want their party to lead a left rather than a centrist coalition. □

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HOPE FOR THE HOMELESS



By Maggie Garb

LAST MONTH'S STOCK MARKET CRASH shocked even the most devout among President Reagan's economic following. But to people in the social services field, the failure of Reaganomics is old news. For while the upper class profitted from a long-running bull market, a recent U.S. census shows that the percentage of people living below the poverty level increased at an unprecedented rate, creating a new underclass—the homeless.

Yet this fall, for the first time in seven years, there is hope for the homeless. At both the national and local levels, lawmakers are initiating programs and providing substantial financial aid for the homeless.

"Until this year," says one official, "homelessness was not even on the political agenda."

In the seven years since Ronald Reagan was elected president, the federal government has methodically removed itself from the role as a sponsor of social programs. The traditional partnership between city, state and federal governments has dissolved, leaving most communities without the resources or the policy guidelines to respond adequately to the needs of a growing homeless population. While some cities and non-profit groups have attempted to deal with the crisis, none has the resources to build and maintain public housing as well as provide the services needed by the homeless. And until recently most cities have offered only minimal emergency services rather than working on long-term solutions, such as job training, health care, education and affordable permanent housing.

While city governments are not blameless, most homeless-rights advocates say that the absence of federal aid is the main cause of the dramatic increase in homelessness in the past few years. A recent survey by the National Coalition for the Homeless reflects a consensus among city officials and service providers around the country: Federal intervention could end the homelessness crisis.

"Just like us": According to the coalition, an estimated two to three million Americans are homeless, more people than at any time since the Great Depression. The homeless population is growing, with an average increase of between 25 to 30 percent each year. It is a diverse population, the coalition says, encompassing all ethnic groups, men, women, children, families, the employed and the unemployed, veterans and the mentally ill.

As one homeless-rights advocate says, "Studies consistently show that homeless people are just like us. They could be your mother, your sister, or the people next door. They have lost their jobs or they can't find affordable housing."

The lack of definitive statistics, says Chicago's Commissioner for Human Services Judith Walker, is the most commonly used argument against providing funding for homelessness programs. At all government levels, from the city council to Congress, budget committees demand comprehensive studies of issues and program proposals. Unfortunately, Walker says, homelessness doesn't fit into a simple package.

Her response is, "Who cares? We know there isn't enough [funding] and we know they [the homeless] are out there."

Low-income housing, unlike Social Secu-

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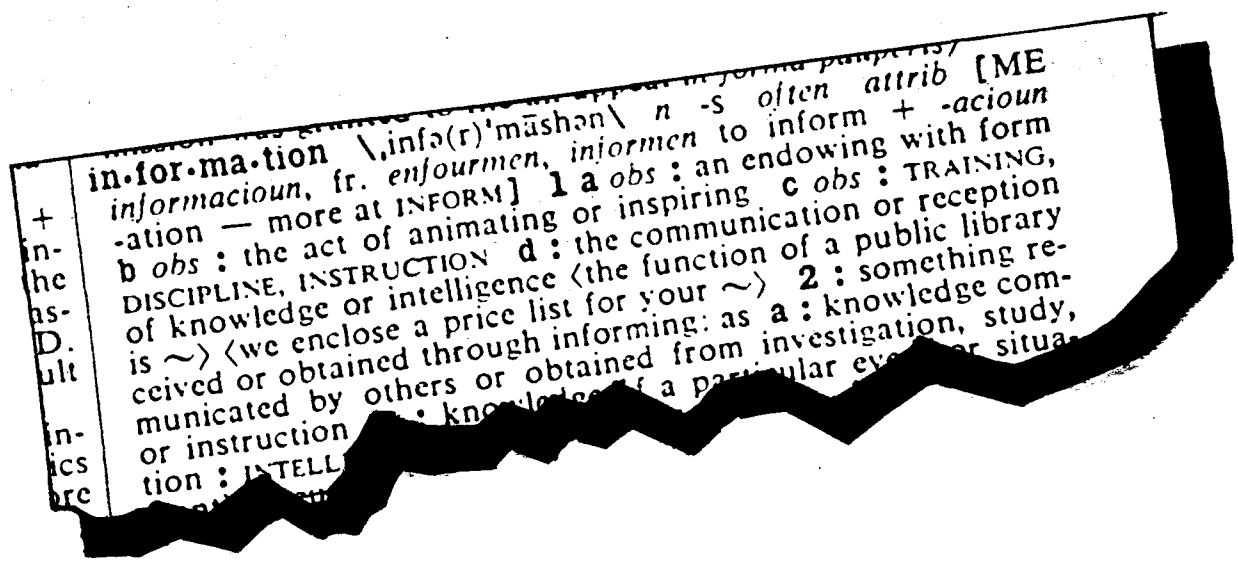


In our anniversary issue last year, we lamented the growing apathy and cynicism of the Reagan years, which we attributed in large part to the failure of the Democratic party and the media to challenge administration policies and lies. But this year is a different story. The Reagan administration is now a shambles. On every front it meets opposition and criticism. Even the media has revoked Reagan's free pass.

For the left this is vindication. And it is an unprecedented opportunity once again to play a major role in American political life.

We are proud to have had our criticism and our view of the Reagan years confirmed in the events of the past 12 months, and confident that the years ahead will be ones of increasing influence and growth, both for the left in general and for ***In These Times***. The past 11 years have not been easy. But they have been gratifying in large part because of the encouragement and support we've received from our readers. As in the past, this anniversary issue reflects that support in the greetings on the following pages. We are deeply grateful to those of you represented here, and to the thousands of others who have kept us going since 1976.

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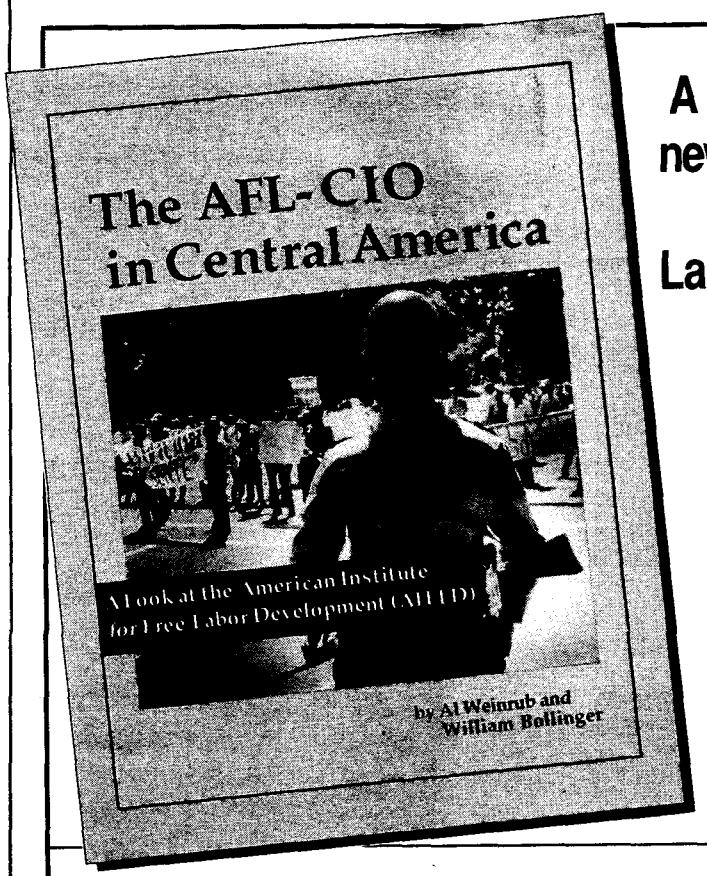
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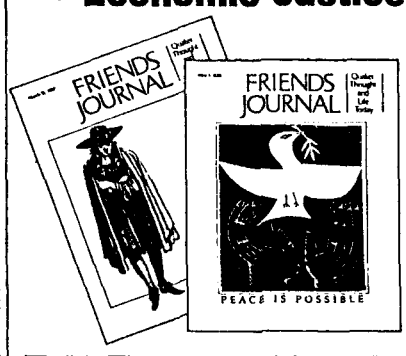
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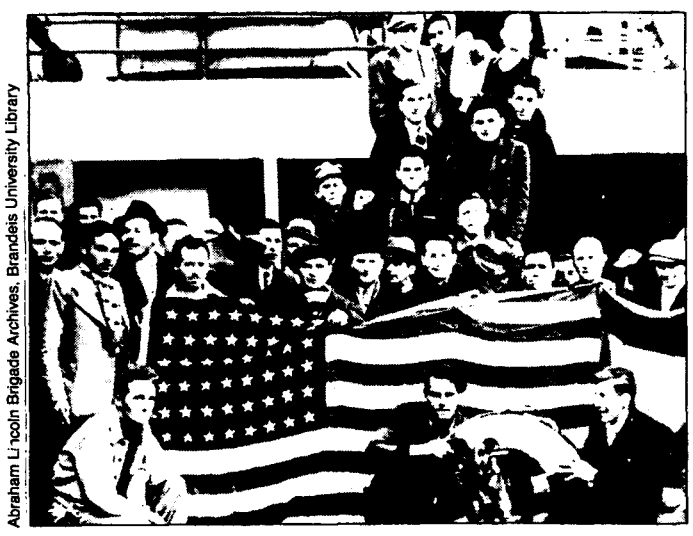
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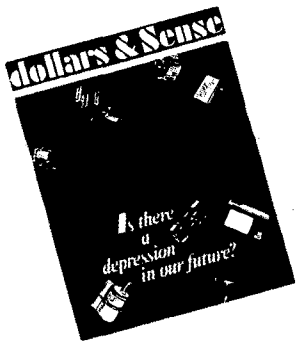
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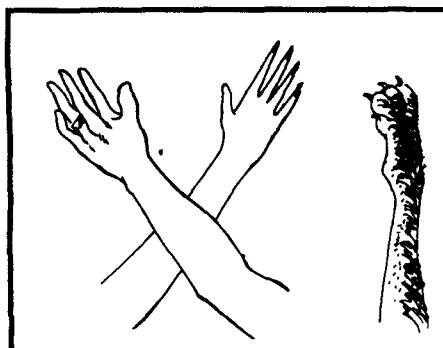
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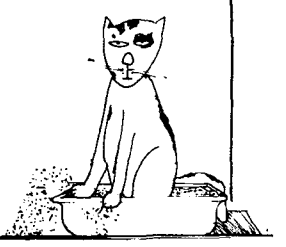
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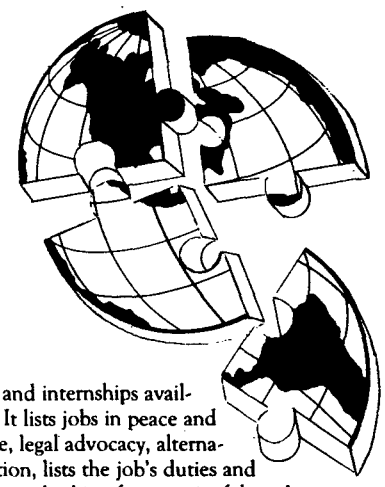
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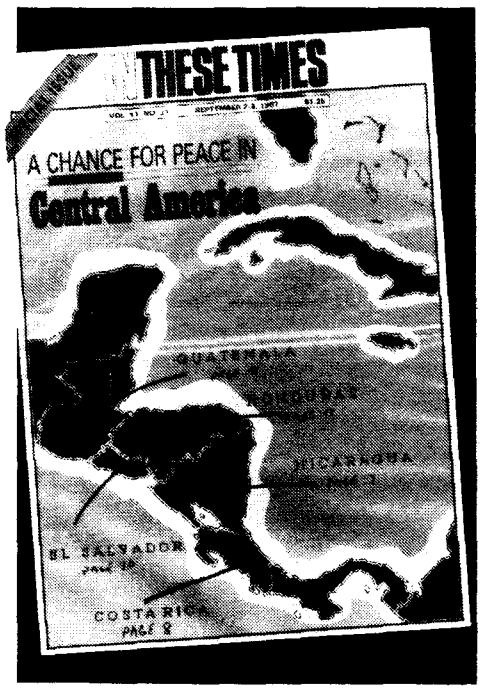
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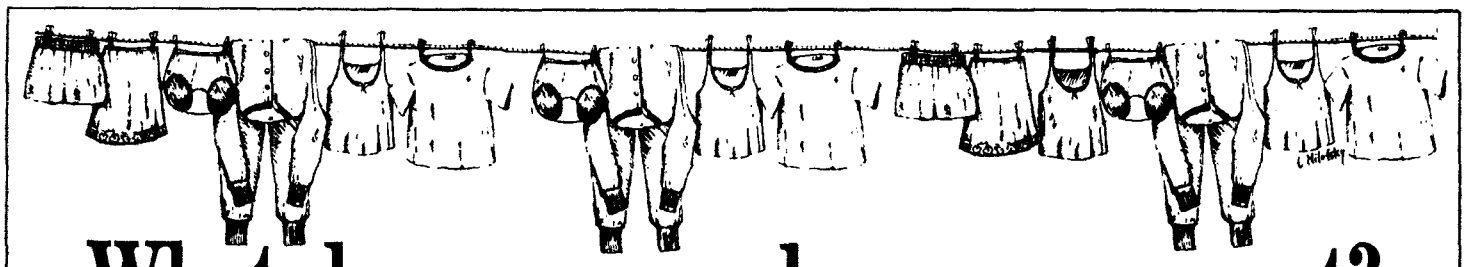
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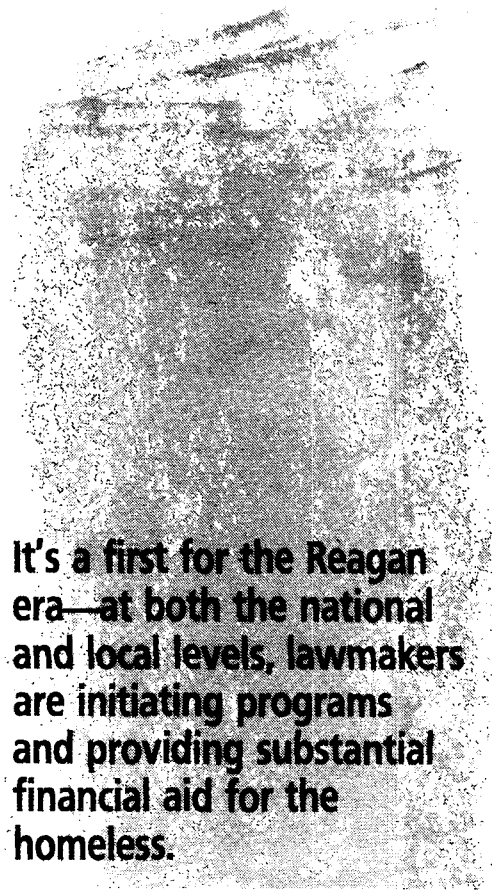
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It's a first for the Reagan era—at both the national and local levels, lawmakers are initiating programs and providing substantial financial aid for the homeless.

rity, Medicare or food stamps, is not an entitlement program. This means that with each new federal budget, housing programs face cutbacks and possible elimination. As in previous years, officials say that low-income housing is the single biggest poverty program that is vulnerable to funding cuts.

But this past summer Congress approved legislation that homeless-rights advocates say has symbolic value. The legislation, called the McKinney Bill, is the first comprehensive federal program for the homeless in seven years. It was approved by a strong bipartisan vote in both houses of Congress and reluctantly signed by President Reagan.

David Bley, legislative assistant to Rep. Michael Lowrey (D-WA) and one of the bill's authors, says, "It's meant to be a foot in the door. It's the beginning of the reorganization of our priorities around here."

Named for Rep. Stewart B. McKinney (R-CT), the bill appropriated $355 million in 1987 for about a dozen programs to aid the homeless. It also authorizes a maximum of $616 million in fiscal year 1988. But Bley says that with budget debates raging in Washington, it's possible that little or none of that money will be appropriated.

Mitch Snyder, a member of the Community for Creative Nonviolence and a leading homeless-rights advocate, is more optimistic about the future of federal funding for homelessness programs. He says that Congress is feeling renewed pressure from homeless-rights groups and local government officials, including the U.S. Conference of Mayors, to appropriate the promised McKinney funds. Snyder says that the Reagan administration is losing its stranglehold on funding for poverty programs in general. The McKinney Bill, he says, signals a renewed federal concern for the homeless issue.

Bley also says that the McKinney Bill reflects a reversal in federal policy, adding that Congress members are beginning to view homelessness as a "morally compelling issue." But he admits that the homeless are a low priority in the federal budget, saying that $355 million is "just a drop in the bucket."

About half of the appropriated funds will go to emergency shelters. A quarter of the money is for transitional housing and the rest is for rehabbing permanent low-income housing, particularly single-room occupancy units (SROs).

Although human services officials in most major cities welcome the McKinney money, most say the bill offers only minimal assistance. The bill's limitations were made apparent in September when the U.S. Conference of Mayors released its national housing policy. The conference is calling for more than $30 billion in federal funding for new programs, as well as large increases in federal subsidies for existing HUD programs.

"We need to in general get back to the business of addressing the needs of the homeless," says Howard Liebowitz, Boston's director of federal relations. He worked with the conference's Task Force on Hunger and Homelessness in developing the housing policy. "If you look at the cutbacks in federal assistance in housing and job training programs, you can get some picture of the correlation between federal cutbacks and the increase in homelessness and poverty."

The long toll: Reagan has expressed his displeasure with the McKinney Bill, calling it another example of Congress' excess spending. Few people are surprised by Reagan's attitude.

In the years since he took office, decentralization has taken its toll, creating a wide gap in funding and services for poor and low-income people. Since 1981 funding for HUD's housing programs, for example, has gone from more than $33 billion to under $8 billion, a 76 percent cut. The number of federally assisted low-income housing units has plummeted from more than 200,000 to about 25,000.

The effect, according to the U.S. Conference of Mayors, is that one out of seven Americans currently lives below the poverty level. And one-quarter of the poor pay more than three-quarters of their income for rent. The conference says that of the total number of households receiving welfare assistance, 30 to 60 percent live in substandard housing.

City officials say that decentralization, along with Reagan's other economic policies, was bound to fail. It placed the full responsibility for social services in the communities, and no community, says Commissioner Walker, has the resources to survive independently.

No reason to invest: Another Reagan campaign theme, privatization, insured cutbacks in federal incentive programs for private investment in low-income housing. From Housing Development Action Grants (HoDAGs) to the Section 8 income-transfer program to Urban Development Action Grants (UDAGs), all have been cut by at least 50 percent, and some have been eliminated entirely. The conference says the theory of privatization—that the private sector would replace the federal government in supporting programs for low-income people—has proved false. No matter how innovative or successful private-public partnerships are, businesses, corporations and private investors, lacking federal backing, have refused to get involved in public service programs, the conference says.

Doug Dobmeyer of the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless says that without government incentives, corporate sponsors, including developers, have no reason to invest in public housing. "The developers, just like anyone with resources, are not going to go out of their way unless there's a public policy that forces developers to provide alternative housing. They're going to take the avenue of least resistance, or the way that's going to make them the most money. People are out on the streets because of it."

And Commissioner Walker calls privatization "irrational." It implies that a developer can make a profit by building and renting apartments to low-income people, which, she says, is generally impossible. The absence of federal support for low-income housing, she says, leads to the development of luxury apartments, or to substandard housing for the poor. Eventually, she says, it leads to homelessness.

With Reaganomics an apparent failure, Congress is searching for alternative solutions to the homelessness crisis. Bley says that Congress members are beginning to understand that a three-tiered strategy is needed: emergency shelters for the immediate needs of the homeless, transitional housing that includes case management, job training and education, and finally, permanent low-income housing. This is what homeless-rights advocates have been saying for a few years.

"We haven't been pushing for shelters because permanent low-income housing is what's needed," says Tim Hager of the National Coalition for the Homeless. "Emergency housing is the first step, but we need special services for the homeless, job training, support services for the mentally ill, better education, among others."

Walker says that most cities have been building shelters, "but the second-stage housing is missing and the final housing is missing. The shelters should be only a transitional Band-Aid. It should be an entry place to move people on different tracks. The problem is that there is a cliff out there—there is not enough low-income housing."

Snyder estimates that seven to eight million low-income housing units will be needed in the next 15 years. He says that the federal government is beginning to see the enormity of the problem, and will be forced to get involved. But he adds that federal funding "gets better and better as the problem gets worse and worse."

Like most homeless-rights advocates, Snyder says the solution lies in a public outcry—a demand for affordable housing and for social services in general.

"Obviously they [Congress] have enough money to eliminate homelessness," Snyder says. "They just have to be made to do it." □

Cities spurred to action on plight of homeless

While the number of homeless people living on the streets has increased, city governments until recently avoided the issue, blaming the problem on federal cutbacks.

This fall, however, several of the nation's mayors ceremoniously announced new programs for the homeless. The federal legislation this past summer, say homeless-rights advocates, has had a trickle-down effect, spurring the mayors to initiate local programs. While many of the programs are controversial, homeless-rights advocates welcome them as a foundation for constructive action.

Because the mentally ill homeless attract public attention, this segment—just 25 percent of the homeless population—is the first to receive government aid. Homeless-rights advocates criticize this "politicized" concern as a means of covering up the larger issue.

"If they can get the mentally ill off the streets," says Tim Hager of the National Coalition for the Homeless, "the politicians will have less community pressure. Out of sight out of mind is the strategy."

New York's Mayor Ed Koch's plan is at the center of the controversy. Koch's plan calls for a team of psychiatrists, social workers and doctors or nurses to examine the homeless in shelters and on the street. Those found to be a danger to themselves or others will be involuntarily admitted to New York City's psychiatric hospital for up to 21 days of treatment and evaluation. Following the hospital stay, the patients will be either released back onto the street or admitted to state psychiatric institutions. Although New York has not opened any new shelters in conjunction with this program, a spokesman for the mayor's office on the homeless says the city has "identified beds in existing shelters. Maybe new beds will be put in," or other people will be turned away.

Hager calls the Koch plan a "political scam," saying that city hospitals are incapable of providing adequate service for people who ask for it, much less enforced admissions. He adds that homelessness became a problem for the mentally ill because of a breakdown in the national mental health system, and Koch is trying to send these people back into a deteriorating system. The mentally ill, according to Hager, need routine treatment, health care and community-based housing, not 21 days in Bellevue.

Hager says that Chicago's approach to health care for the homeless, particularly treatment for the mentally ill, is a viable solution. Teams of health-care workers are based in the shelters to provide on-site treatment.

"The whole premise is that people who are homeless, and sick or mentally ill, are very suspicious of doctors, clinics, police and other people who offer the services they need," says Doug Dobmeyer of the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless. "There's a classic problem if you are trying to provide service for people: how do you prevent them from freezing on the streets or getting their heads bashed in without taking away their rights? If you can take the service out to where the people are then you're going to have a lot more potential for success."

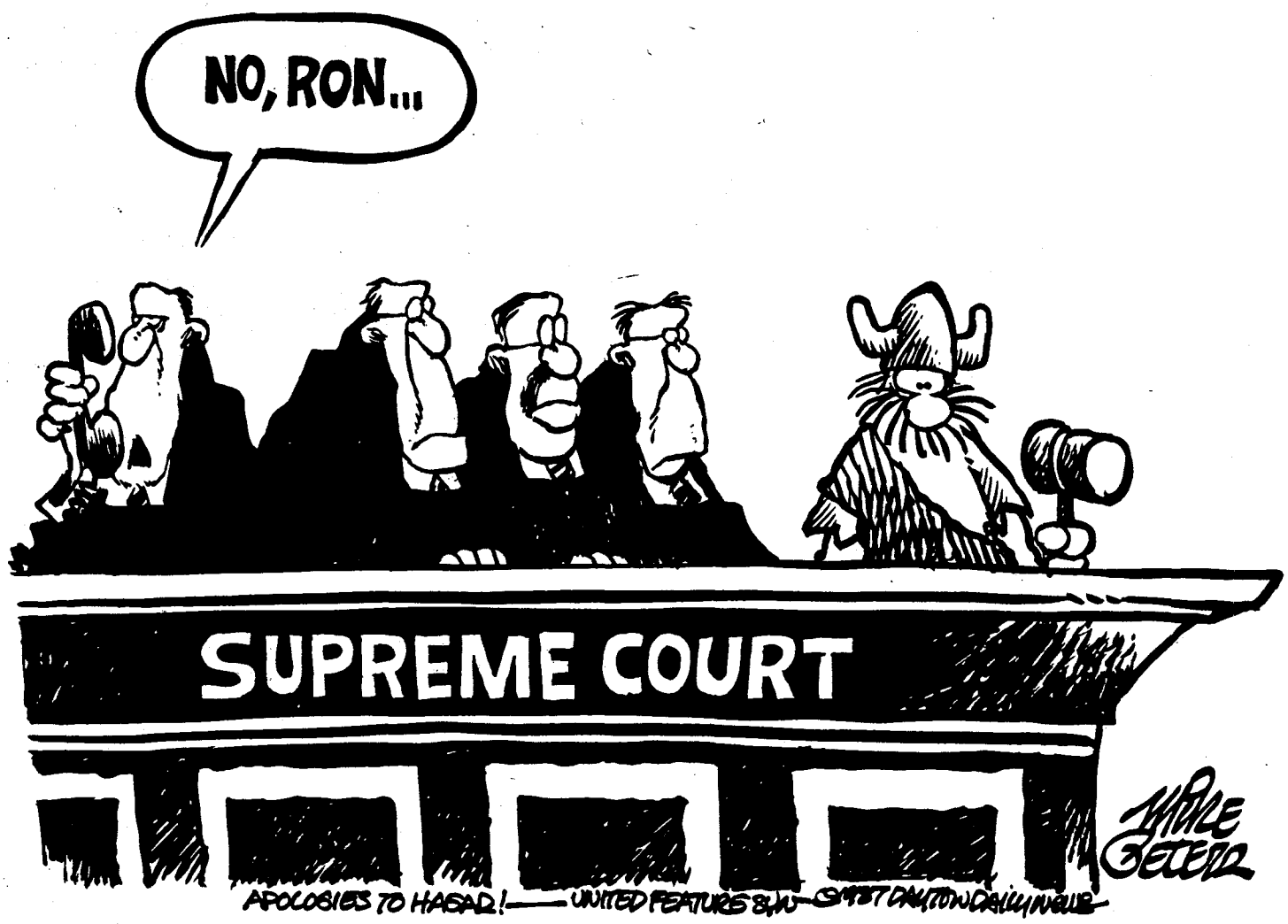
Beyond health care, most major cities are developing broader programs to deal with the homelessness crisis. The cities are building emergency shelters, and some, like Chicago and Atlanta, have initiated traiing programs for shelter operators. As the homeless population grows and becomes more diverse, the function of the shelters becomes more sophisticated.

"People who run shelters are good-hearted people," says Judith Walker, the commissioner for human services in Chicago. "But they don't always know how to keep a building up to code or direct people through the bureaucracy for public aid. Moving them from caring about people to being a shelter operator takes hands-on training."

Cities with stronger economies are demanding that the private sector get involved in these programs. Boston's linkage program, for example, forces developers of a construction project bigger than 250,000 square feet to contribute $5 per square foot to neighborhood housing and $1 per square foot to a job training fund. And both Boston and San Francisco have inclusionary zoning laws awaiting city council votes. These laws would force developers to include between 10 and 20 percent of low or moderate-income units in any new development project. But as one Boston official says, only the wealthier cities have the luxury of instituting such policies.

Most cities are fighting for gentrification, so in those cities rental rates are on the rise and vacancy rates are between 2 and 15 percent. This means that a homeless person or someone who lives on public aid or on the minimum wage has only a slight chance of finding a decent affordable apartment. **–M.G.**

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United Features Syndicate

A nasty habit that Reagan can't break

President Reagan's nomination of Judge Douglas Ginsburg to the Supreme Court flaunts two of his administration's most basic proclivities—contempt for the desires of the American people, in this case as expressed by the Senate, and fealty to the truly greedy.

Reagan said it himself: If they don't like Bork, just wait until the next nomination. It was a petulant blunder, caused, no doubt, by confusion at not being able to get his way with a once-obeisant Senate. But it also revealed the administration's indifference to the sentiments of the American people, some two-thirds of whom did not want Robert Bork on the Supreme Court. This is a majority not simply opposed to the man, but also to most of the social policies that he epitomized—and for which Reagan claims to have a mandate.

Bork's defeat—a reflection of Reagan's slippage in the wake of the '86 elections and contragate—and now the stock market plunge, would have given pause to an administration more responsible to the American ruling class. Instead of seeking another confrontation, which if lost threatens its own little remaining credibility, such an administration would have sought to calm the waters. But not Reagan. His great strength during the years that he had the establishment and the media in thrall was his single-mindedness. People admired him because he was that rare politician who knew what he believed and went for it without regard to public opinion—or to the facts. Now, he can't break the habit.

The White House has been boasting that this nominee was chosen largely because he has "no paper trail," and therefore, unlike Bork, can't be shot down with his own words. But short as Ginsburg's record is, it's bad enough to keep him off the court. A man who calculates people's health and safety strictly in terms of corporate profit and loss should not be an ultimate arbiter of the law. A person who has so little sensitivity to conflicts of interest that he will fight a case in which he may gain from a favorable outcome cannot be trusted. It appears to us that the Ginsburg nomination will fail. And we believe it should. ■

Jim Wright discovers a democratic principle

For the better part of 11 years, we have been arguing that no nation, including our own, has the right to impose on others its ideas about how their societies should be organized. Each nation has the right to determine for itself its form of government and social organization. For us that is a basic democratic principle. It is also a principle that has been consistently violated by post-World War II administrations.

This does not mean that the U.S. should not support nations with which we agree. Or that we should not criticize, or even shun, nations that operate on principles abhorrent to us. But those are political questions that should be decided after informed debate. And the policies adopted to further our decisions should not violate others' sovereignty.

We have frequently challenged the Carter and Reagan administrations' consistent violations of these principles, and also the failure of congressional leaders to recognize them when debating such issues as aid to the Nicaragua contras. So it is only proper to take note of a change for the better—of a recognition in high places, however belated, that the United States has no God-given right to impose its will on the rest of the world.

This occurred in an interview given by House Speaker Jim Wright (D-TX) to the *Congressional Quarterly* on October 27. Talking about compliance with the Central American peace plan, Wright said that he was "not sure that we [the United States] are called upon to judge" whether particular countries have fulfilled their commitments. "That may be an error in self-conception," he said. "If we believe ourselves appointed by deity to be the judge over all the other nations of the hemisphere, that may be part of our problem."

Expanding on this, Wright conceded that in his opinion "there is a limit to which one country may dictate the terms of internal governance in another country. We have a right to seek a basically democratic society and the encourage it whenever possible." But, he said, we "do not have a right to demand that any other country must become a carbon copy of ourselves or a computer printout of our system in order to qualify for our friendship or cooperation."

Amen.

But isn't it sad that it took seven years of a murderously undemocratic policy—and its ultimate collapse—to bring the House leader of the Democratic Party around to this basic democratic concept? ■

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"...with liberty and justice for all"

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(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700
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This issue (Vol. 12, No. 2) published Nov. 11, 1987, for newsstand sales Nov. 11-17, 1987.

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LETTERS

Discretion or discretionary?

DAN DENOON IN HIS ARTICLE CONCERNING AIDS and the health-care community (*ITT*, Oct. 14) is well-intentioned in alerting us to the widespread homophobia and fear of contracting AIDS among health-care workers. As a health-care worker I have come into contact with these attitudes. But a more subtle, though equally dangerous, form of homophobia exists among health-care providers as expressed in a quotation from Peter Mansell.

DeNoon quotes Mansell on victim-blaming by physicians toward AIDS patients. But he compares the denial of treatment to AIDS patients to the denial of treatment to smokers with lung cancer, or gluttons with coronary infarctions. Mansell's intention seems to be to lessen the amount of responsibility AIDS patients have for acquiring their illness by making it equivalent to the responsibility associated with diseases that affect the general population. But he is equating behaviors that transmit infection with behaviors that cause disease. Homosexuality does not cause AIDS. AIDS is caused by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), which is transmitted through blood and other body fluids, including semen.

Wouldn't it make more sense to equate AIDS with malaria, which is contracted through mosquito bites, or parasitic diseases contracted through drinking infected water? Do we blame a person for having been bitten by a mosquito or for drinking water? Are these behaviors we can modify like changing eating and smoking habits? Certainly not. Is homosexuality to be thought of as a modifiable behavior? Sexual practices can be modified and safe sex should be promoted. But homosexuality should not be campaigned against to prevent AIDS, as smoking and eating fatty foods are campaigned against to prevent lung cancer and heart disease, contrary to Mansell's inadvertent suggestion.

Nancy Bermon, M.D.
Bronx, N.Y.

Low blow

I IMAGINE THAT PAUL BASS KNOWS A GOOD DEAL about the "unmistakable stench of sour grapes" he referred to in his review of Andy Kreig's *Spiked* (*ITT*, Oct. 7). But when he attempts to pull off a whopper such as "...in New Haven, long-time chain ownership has corrupted the 'alternative weekly'..." a baser scent comes to mind, one commonly associated with barnyards and pastures.

The alternative weekly Bass snidely placed in quotation marks was the *New Haven Advocate*, one of a group of four weeklies in western Massachusetts and Connecticut, all self-started since 1973. Our production facilities and a few administrative functions originate in one office. That's about the extent of "corporate corruption." Editorial and sales staffs operate as autonomously as one could possibly conceive.

What concerns me more is that a freelance writer could use the pages of *In These Times* to advance a hidden personal agenda—to take an unfounded and gratuitous swipe in the apparent absence of proper editorial checks. The "corrupted" paper to which Bass referred has won more Sigma Delta Chi awards for investigative journalism than any other weekly in New England. As a "chain," the Advocate newspapers have been justifiably hailed for their depth of coverage of national and international issues—a quality of coverage beyond the means or capabilities of most alternative weeklies. Far from being corrupted, our papers have been recognized by responsible observers for a far different quality: editorial excellence.

Perhaps things were different when Paul Bass wrote for the *New Haven Advocate*—a point I'm sure he intended to mention. Maybe it slipped his mind.

Of course, had he mentioned that, he may have felt compelled to mention why he no longer contributes to the *Advocate*: Any hopes he may have had for continued work here were frustrated when the quality of his writing was deemed unacceptable. In addition, he now finds himself editor of another weekly that is attempting to compete with the *New Haven Advocate*.

Draw your own conclusions.

Michael C. Bingham
Editor, *New Haven Advocate*

Editor's note: *We regret that we let this gratuitous slam at the* Advocate *slip by.*

Minor flaws

M. FLOYD HALL'S OTHERWISE EXCELLENT ARTIcle on Mexico is marred by a number of factual errors (*ITT*, Oct. 28).

He states that Adolfo López Mateos was president at the time of the 1968 Olympics and that his successors were Luis Echeverría and José López Portillo. Unfortunately, López Mateos' successor was Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, who was president at the time of the Olympics. Writing Díaz Ordaz out of Mexican history is something like writing Nixon out of U.S. history: one would love to, but it would be the ultimate in ignoring reality.

The Mexican banking system was nationalized in September 1982, not September 1981. The significance of the former date is that the nationalization occurred with only three months remaining in López Portillo's term. As a result he did not have to deal with the problems created.

Finally, Hall states that until recently the PRI's process of designating presidential candidates has gone unchallenged. This ignores the important defections—similar in importance to Cuauhtèmoc Càrdenas'—of Ezequiel Padilla, Mexico's foreign minister in 1946, and of Gen. Miguel Henríquez Guzmán in 1952.

Philip Russell
Austin, Texas

M. Floyd Hall replies: *Ouch and double ouch. Díaz Ordaz was president during the Tlateloclco Massacre, and the bank nationalization was in 1982. As for Gen. Henriquez, that's a judgment call. I chose to view the episode as a fleeting, rather than serious, challenge.*

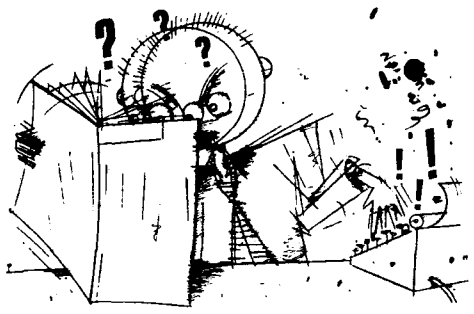
Blinders on

HOW CAN A LIBERAL PUBLICATION IN SORE FINANcial straits afford to devote a whole page to an article such as Alexander Amerisov's report on "smuggled" material from the Soviet Union (*ITT*, Oct. 7)? Let us accept the impartiality of such a defector and grant that Amerisov's story is factual and represents a fair sampling of the smuggled report, even though we are given only a portion of the report. The fact remains that very similar material abounds in many well-heeled ultra-right-wing publications for those who seek it.

I don't get it.

G.I. Patterson
Graeagle, Calif.

Editor's note: *(1) We don't believe that only the right wing should be informed about developments in the Soviet Union. (2) The right in fact has little or no interest in the development of a democratic socialist left—or of democracy—in the Soviet Union. We do.*



Foiled

IN A RECENT REVIEW OF *THE IRAN-CONTRA CONnection* (*ITT*, Oct. 21), Richard Ryan finds a convenient, but wholly undeserving, foil in another book on the subject, *The Chronology: The Documented Day-by-Day Account of the Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Contras* (Warner Books, 1987), put out by the National Security Archive in Washington.

Using *The Chronology* as a point of comparison, Ryan advances two assertions about the Archive book that are simply wrong: that it "contains virtually no original reporting," and that it "limited itself to mainstream press accounts."

What's puzzling, not to mention troubling, is that Ryan wrote just the opposite about *The Chronology* not long ago. Compare his recent remarks with what he wrote in March (*ITT*, March 11): "In addition to news accounts, the Archive's chronology encompasses numerous court documents and such materials as Salvadoran telephone records. And the Archive drew on documents already in their burgeoning files, such as Alexander Haig's logs.... The chronology also cites several overseas press accounts."

Add to this the fact that, in addition to mainstream accounts, *The Chronology* also quotes from the likes of *The Village Voice*, *The Nation* and the *Progressive*, and you have a very different picture of the book.

Ryan takes one more unwarranted swipe at *The Chronology* in the later review when he terms it "simply a repository of facts," as opposed to an "interpretive work," like *The Connection*. Doesn't it occur to him that he is confusing apples with oranges, that both books serve equally valuable, but very different functions? *The Chronology* was deliberately designed to be a concise, chronological compilation of uninterpreted facts that journalists, scholars and the interested public could use to draw their own conclusions, not only about the Iran-contra affair, but about the larger issue of President Reagan's covert action policies as well.

I used to think Richard Ryan agreed.

Malcolm Byrne
Editor, *The Chronology*
Washington, D.C.

Richard Ryan replies: *Like many journalists in Washington, I regard the National Security Archive and its* Chronology *as an invaluable resource, and did not intend to denigrate the splendid research of Malcolm Byrne and his associates. Research is not journalism, however. In cases where* The Chronology *produces previously unavailable documents—Gen. Richard Secord's flight logs, for instance—it gives no indication of what significance these documents might have within the larger Iran-contra scandal. Byrne himself describes* The Chronology *as "uninterpreted facts." Also, after going back through* The Chronology, *I stand by my assertion that the Archive's editors have overlooked many important stories in the alternative press. I hope this will be rectified in future editions.*

Correction

The book review of *The Iran-Contra Connection* (*ITT*, Oct. 21) incorrectly identified the author of a chapter on the history of Israeli involvement in Central America. The chapter was written by Jane Hunter.

SYLVIA **by Nicole Hollander**



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Suppressing intra-racial diversity: present gains, future danger

By Gwen Simms

I SAT SOMNOLENTLY IN A PEW, AWAKENED only by the ranting of a disenchanted minister who had succeeded in arousing the congregation to grunts and amens. Two black men were running for the same political office in St. Louis, he announced. He wanted one of them to concede. At the naming of his choice, many of the grunts and amens were barely audible.

When Julian Bond and John Lewis campaigned for the U.S. congressional seat, it was a case of two respected politicians with a trail of civil rights accomplishments vying for the same arena. And it was a campaign supposedly between two old friends. By the end of it, John Lewis had pulled off a bittersweet victory. Georgian blacks, who had voted largely for Bond, maintained their Southern cool and did not blitz the media with complaints about the dirty campaign that was fought with sleazy accusations and profane rhetoric. There was a black man in the Congress. Were the means he used to get there acceptable?

In relating the tragedy of Howard Beach, Eric Breindel, in the Feb. 8, 1987, issue of the *New Republic* in an article entitled "The Legal Circus," laments over the aftermath of racial violence that caused the victims' attorneys to announce (1) they would not be cooperating with the investigation that left one dead man, and (2) they would be proposing a boycott of white business. This caused a tense period, according to Breindel, in which "...little was heard from members of the black political establishment of New York..., that is except for Representative Charles Rangel and State Supreme Court Justice Bruce M. Bright." The implication is clear. Those opposed to the actions taken by the attorneys were crushed to silence.

The common thread running through these incidents is the growing phenomenon of the hushing of opinion intra-racially. It's a hard issue to discuss, much less write about, but a bit of journalistic bravery may ultimately lead to a downfall of an ugly trend.

The trend is understandable on a historical level. Historically, blacks have never attained racial equality, nor have they achieved any economic independence that they can brag about. And certainly no political power seemed possible prior to the '60s.

By the '50s and '60s, however, black activists such as A. Phillip Randolph, Dorothy Height and Whitney Young were able to combine resources and approaches and pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Had they not united forces, many gains would have been nil.

With the signing of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 into law, many resistant whites insisted there would be no compliance. Voting power still seemed a shot in the dark. But as years rolled by, political power did not appear to be as elusive as the obtaining of racial equality or economic independence.

By 1980 blacks could see tangible evidence of success. And by 1986, according to the Joint Center for Political Studies, there were 420 blacks in the U.S. and state legislatures and 3,824 in city and county offices.

Many black activists would argue that solidarity in thought and vote brought about the needed changes. If that is true, should blacks continue to be prodded toward singlemindedness by their leaders, even in the 20th century, and in what areas?

The answers: When Harold Washington became the first black person to become mayor of Chicago, some called the victory miraculous. But there were mayors who were black in Atlanta, Indiana, Detroit and Los Angeles, to name a few, and anything was possible. In addition, Washington was an intelligent choice, given the qualifications of his predecessors. In fact, it could be said he was overqualified for the job. The ploy to reduce his re-election to the issue of black consciousness smacked of old Chicago politics and its bossism strategy.

Chicago politics aside, a similar experience of distress occurred when I was assigned to cover presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson during his 1984 Los Angeles visit. The TV crew and I hit the streets of Los Angeles and San Bernardino to conduct an opinion poll regarding Jackson. Later that same evening, I took it upon myself to visit several local events. What ensued at the mere mention of opposition to the Jackson bid for president would not be appropriate language for this publication. I can relate one interchange, however.

A group of well-attired, properly mannered professionals were gathered at a colleague's housewarming and decided to sit around the fireplace and chat. Someone asked the question that led to the metamorphosis of these charming people: "Did you contribute your $20 to Jackson?" The lady was referring to the ad run by the *Los Angeles Sentinel*. Campaign contributors were asked to send a $20 bill (embossed with the picture of former President Andrew Jackson) to Jackson campaign headquarters. The advertising plug was appropriately called "Jackson for a Jackson." "I would never contribute a dime to Jackson," said one soft-spoken lady. The rest can be said to be "street history."

As a journalist, I was enthralled by the exchange; but as the conversation intensified, I lost all focus of my assignment and became blatantly angry.

Sticking together: "Blacks have just got to stick together," I heard another guest shout. "It doesn't matter what you think of Jackson. He's the only black man running and we should never let whites hear us say anything derogatory about another black."

Some people began to ease out of the room. They had remained silent, but the torment on their faces was as loud as the screeching voices of coercion.

These examples are pages from the '50s and '60s, minus the "oreo-cookie" rhetoric or the "Uncle Tom" branding. Well-known psychologist and author Kenneth Clark has warned against this. Writing for the *New York Times Magazine* in 1980 in an article entitled, "Role of Race," he reminds us that "...the black separatist movement, which reached its zenith in the late '60s and early '70s, was a carbon copy of white supremacy.... Some of the same blacks who in 1954 had hailed the Supreme Court's repeal of the myth of 'separate but equal' now embraced the separatist movement."

In the same article, Clark reminds us that "...there are more sophisticated forms of black retreat in the crude and flamboyant posture of black separatists, but they are just as destructive to the momentum of the civil rights movement."

While we may not call the prodders in the examples citied separatists, there is manipulation, and often it is not subtle.

But there is another flaw in coercion. It implies that blacks can win only if blacks vote in blocks. Yet in a city like Los Angeles, this theory is illogical.

Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley had no such advantage when he ran for governor of California. During the mayor's first bid against George Deukmejian, there were said to be approximately 1.8 million blacks in California. The Census Bureau reports show that during that same period there were 18 million whites, four million Spanish and three million who classified themselves as "other." Blacks alone could not have elected Tom Bradley, unless none of the other races showed up at the voting polls.

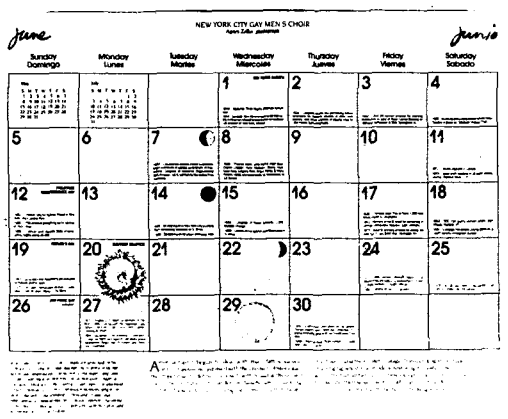
Furthermore, does it make sense personally and ethically for the black voter merely to begin to look at color before he pulls the lever or punches his ballot? Is he freer for moving from no voting power to forced voting for particular candidates? And if he is called upon to make a choice between two blacks running for the same office, should one of them concede to make his choice easier?

Beyond that, should blacks begin to disregard where the candidate stands on the issues, without knowing his moral fabric, without knowing his or her qualifications or ability to govern?

As one of my grandparents used to say, "I make up my own mind about what I want to do. I ain't never gonna be no slave no more." It is hard to fathom that he did not understand the uniqueness behind black achievement and unity toward specific goals. He would have applauded united approaches toward economic and racial freedoms. But it is doubtful whether he would have enjoyed being crushed to silence regarding any issue or candidate, or would have even tolerated it. ■

Gwen Simms is a freelance journalist in Houston and former Los Angeles TV reporter.





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ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn

The Tempest: All Our Revels Now Are Ended

LONDON, ENGLAND–It's easier here to get an immediate physical sense of the impact of the financial crash on the world stock markets, because there was a properly Shakespearian fusion of meteorological and financial catastrophe on Friday, October 16. The people who staggered into the city early that Friday morning had already experienced the lash of one of the most violent storms—hurricanes, if you wish—in English history, starting at about 4 a.m. And since most of these same city folk live in the southern suburbs and ruburbs of London their houses were directly in the path of the tempest.

A couple of days ago, already two weeks later, the signs of this cataclysm were everywhere. I visited a friend in Eccleston Square, a few minutes from Victoria Station, and stood transfixed as the scene of carnage unfolded. The Square was designed by Thomas Cubitt, a Victorian speculative builder who, among other things, invented the treadmill. It was graced by lofty plane trees under which Winston Churchill, a denizen of Eccleston Square, used to sit.

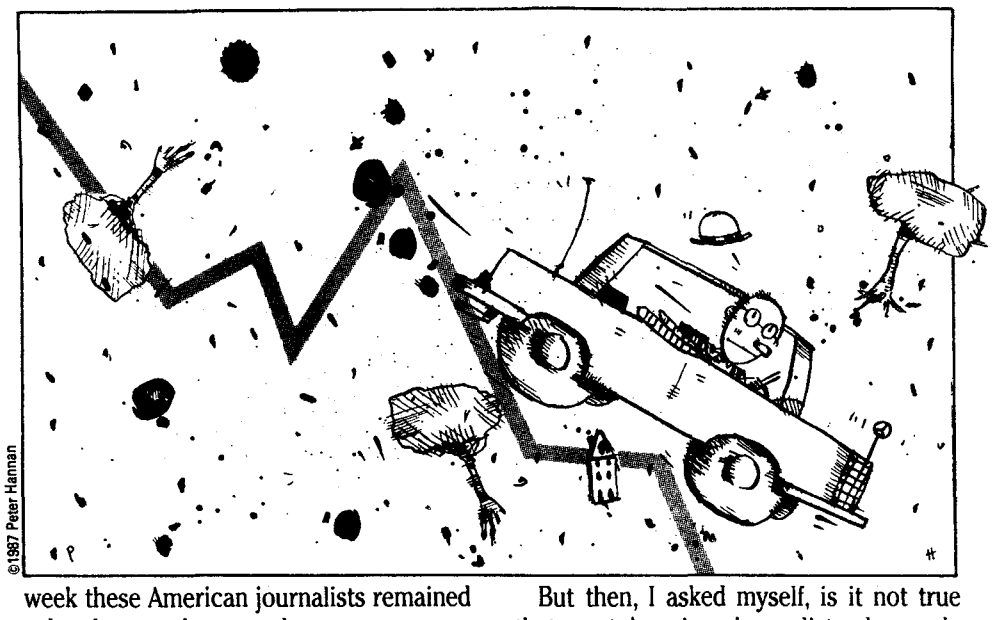
The plane trees are lofty no more. Overwhelmed by the 100 m.p.h. winds they crashed down on the Porsches, Mercedes and Bentleys of stockbrokers and financial operators who are now the square's residents. The devastation south of London was even more dramatic. An hour's drive down winding country lanes revealed groves upended and only lowly copses still extant.

The fury of all these de-Porsched speculators at Ronald Reagan, the man whose role they have toasted for six years, is intense. There are howls, starting with Mrs. Thatcher, for the United States to cut the deficit and balance the budget. They echo similarly ludicrous suggestions from the neoliberal crowd in the U.S. There were even rumors as I left that Jesse Jackson was going to make a speech in support of balanced budget. If he does commit this act of folly—thus subscribing to the notion that a depression is what America truly needs—then he will no more deserve support, at least for his economic policies, than Senators Bumpers and Simon, the latter of whom professes to support the great liberal spending programs of the past, while simultaneously preaching the virtues of a constitutional amendment to balance the budget.

Pubs and Pundits

Returned from the devastation of Eccleston Square, I am suddenly asked to prepare a five-minute address for one of the television channels on the difference between British and American journalists. After due deliberation I make the following observations:

I first went to work and live in the United States 15 years ago when the Watergate scandal was beginning. Right away I noticed a difference between the British and the American press. American journalists didn't seem to drink so much. In fact, they seemed to stay sober all the time. At first I suspected it was the gravity of the task—turning President Nixon out of office—that had temporarily suspended the profession's usually intimate relationship with the bottle. Then I covered the presidential election races in 1976 and 1980. It was the same story. Under circumstances that would have reduced British journalists to drunken stupor in a



©1987 Peter Hannan

week these American journalists remained sober for months on end.

I asked myself why this should be so. Was there some strange genetic aversion to booze embedded in my American colleagues? This seemed unlikely, so I sought a social explanation and eventually I found one. American journalists have a much higher sense of personal and professional worth than their opposite numbers this side of the Atlantic. They are taught to believe, and do believe with every fiber of their being, that were it not for their professional vigilance, democracy in the United States would wither and die. Inflamed with this sense of high mission and, incidentally, better rewarded in financial terms, they have no need, or at least less need, to seek comfort in the bottle.

In Britain, journalists are not sustained by a similar sense of uplifting social mission. Bruised by a public contempt for their function that ranks it far below such vital social tasks as bookies' runner, British journalists know their professional mission to be servile to power, lining their masters' pockets inthis unwholesome cause. I do not, I hasten to say, thus allege that this is what all journalists in Britain do, but it is what most of them do, and hence, unsurprisingly, many of them drink recklessly to obliterate their spiritual shame.

But then, I asked myself, is it not true that most American journalists also apply themselves on a lifetime basis to the task of being servile to power, lining their masters' pockets with equal application?

There is a myth here I should instantly dispel. By reason of the Watergate and more recently the Iran-contra scandals, American journalists have a mostly undeserved reputation for a courageous, at times even arrogant, attitude to power; a spirit that has brought down one president, Nixon, and humbled another, Reagan.

Don't believe it. From most of the American press Nixon and Reagan got treatment as grovelling as that generally accorded Mrs. Thatcher until other forces sufficiently humbled them for the press to move in and start gnawing on their bones. For six long years the American press preached the glory and greatness of Ronald Reagan until a tiny Lebanese paper in Beirut disclosed that he was trading arms to the men who blew up the U.S. Marines.

The reason for the difference in drinking habits is, therefore, no essential difference in function. Dwelling in a younger empire far more recently on the wane, these American journalists have more illusions about what they are essentially up to, so they have a less guilty attitude to life. They don't stay up late and drink. They get up early and jog.

Woodward's Casey

A measure of the repellent interest of Bob Woodward's book *Veil*, about William Casey's CIA, is the degree to which the author, transcribing the calculations of his subjects, has produced a book subscribing to much of their world view. Consider this account of how, in the spring of 1981, the Reagan administration sent $50 million to the junta in Argentina to commence recruitment and training in Honduras of the Nicaraguan contras.

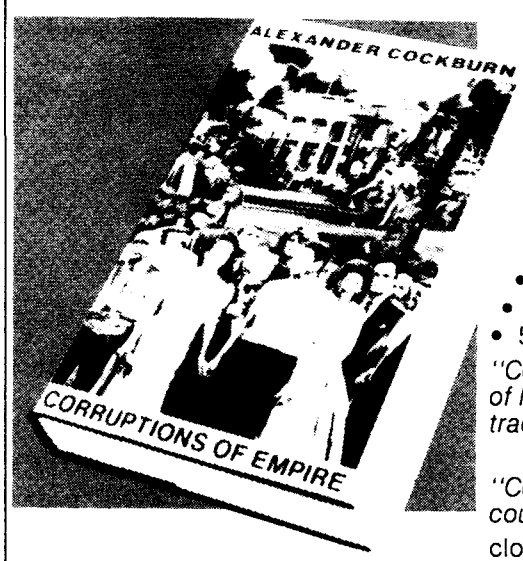
"The Argentine military intelligence, G-2, had elevated anti-Communism to an ethos and ran a counter-Marxist indoctrination program. The generals were worried about the Montoñeros, guerrillas opposed to their dictatorship, who operated out of Nicaragua. Argentina was supporting resistance efforts aimed at the Sandinistas and was training about 1,000 men north of the Nicaraguan border in Honduras."

The chaste first sentence, pivoting on the tranquil words "ethos" and "program" thus spare the reader the unpleasantness of recalling that this G-2 and these Argentinian generals with whom Casey and the Reagan administration were in close contact had in the late '70s murdered, often after the most horrible tortures, about 10,000 people.

The second sentence is directly misleading since it implies that Nicaragua was host and sponsor of the Montoñeros, thus "exporting terror," though the Montoñeros had been mostly active in the mid-'70s, long before the Sandinistas came to power, and had by 1981 been almost entirely wiped out by the torture and murders sentenced above. The third sentence, notably the phrase "supporting resistance efforts," elides the historical record, which is that at the instigation of the Reagan administration and with $50 million of the U.S. taxpayers' money, those Argentinian generals dispatched their most seasoned torturers and thugs to Tegucigalpa to cobble together the core group of National Guardsmen and derelicts referred to here as "the resistance."

There is no sign from Woodward that he is merely representing a version of reality to which he takes exception or, indeed, that this passage is anything other than his own notion of what happened. ■

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Vaculik essays are good to the last drop

A Cup of Coffee with My Interrogator, the Prague Chronicles of Ludvik Vaculik
Translated by George Theiner, Introduction by Vaclav Havel
Readers International, 128 pp., $7.95

By Karen Rosenberg



Jan Brychta *A Cup of Coffee with My Interrogator*

I REMEMBER MY 5TH-GRADE CLASSroom where I heard that JFK had been shot and the green lawn where I was playing a few years later when I learned that Soviet tanks had entered Prague. The pain in the voices that told me of those events imprinted them on my memory. "Socialism with a human face" was the hope of many American leftists, and its defeat in '68 was also our loss. Yet rarely have I heard the left identify with those who remained in Czechoslovakia after "normalization" to advocate the human rights proclaimed in Charter 77. We've let the right appropriate that issue and they've hastened to cast all dissidents as anti-socialists, to discredit humanistic Marxism once and for all.

The rest of the U.S. media tends to pass over the embarrassing word "socialism" in silence, obscuring our perception of people like Ludvik, Vaculik, one of Czechoslovakia's best novelists and essayists. You have to read this collection of articles to learn that he has incorporated human rights into his conception of socialism—the reviews won't tell you that.

Vaculik has published only in *samizdat* (or underground) periodicals and books since the Prague Spring, because he feels that Czechoslovakia's "goulash socialism," that buys people off through modest material comforts, is a perversion. And yet he's heartened when his countrymen chatter about bread and circuses over the voice of President Husak at a May 1 rally. What I like about Vaculik is that he doesn't let historical tragedies ruin his entire day.

He can find redeeming irony in rather awkward situations, like a cup of coffee with an interrogator. The fact that Lt. Col. Noga offered him a couple of apples is duly noted. Vaculik doesn't paint the devil blacker than he is. But he's not willing to exchange gifts of fruit with

DISSIDENTS

this rather polite demon, either. By focusing on the apple issue, he makes the impounding of manuscripts and the imprisonment of writers appear to be ordinary, everyday events. Which is what they have become in "normalized" Czechoslovakia. "Violence has become humanized," he writes. "Is this better or worse?"

If *glasnost* doesn't fill him with joy and confidence it's probably because he remembers a better ideal. For Vaculik, a Russian term like *perestroika* ("restructuring") doesn't mean the Soviets had invented something new. "To manufacture quality goods: what a revolutionary and daring idea. More than one candidate to stand for election: now there's a discovery for you.... There are still more amazing discoveries waiting to be made: for instance, the separation of legislative, executive and judicial power." Indeed, no socialist humanist should be satisfied with so little, given by another nation, and from above, to boot.

And yet, for Vaculik, the alternative to complacency is not martyrdom. He paints himself as an ordinary journalist (though he's actually a brilliant novelist, as evidenced by *The Axe* and *The Guinea Pigs*, which have been translated into English). The heroic stance we associate with dissidents is inadequate, he thinks, in the long run. "Heroic deeds are alien to everyday life," he writes. "They flourish in exceptional situations, but these must not be of long duration." What he offers instead is a less intimidating model of simple human decency, which every person can emulate "at the price of acceptable sacrifice" over the long haul.

George Theiner, the editor of the London-based journal "Index on Censorship" where some of these essays first appeared, has given us a good translation, with only a few nuggets of British English to chew. But it's a shame this book wasn't better equipped with explanatory footnotes—many names mentioned will be unfamiliar to American readers. Obviously Vaculik's intended audience was his countrymen, who'd get the references. In fact, his very form is another bit of black humor: these topical essays look like "think" pieces for an uncensored Czech newspaper—something that hasn't existed for 20 years. ■

Karen Rosenberg is a writer with a special interest in Eastern Europe. Her recent articles have appeared in *The New Statesman, Sight and Sound* and *Technology Review*.

Dusting off and updating a classic

Powerful Peacemaking: A Strategy for a Living Revolution
By George Lakey
New Society Publishers, 246 pp., $9.95

By Stephen Zunes

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO, THE RADICAL Quaker sociologist and activist George Lakey wrote *Strategy for a Living Revolution*. Though highly acclaimed upon its initial publication, it has more recently appeared to many readers as unduly optimistic of the possibility of any truly radical transformations in American society, and has often been dismissed as a "period piece," representing '60s-era faith in the inevitable revolution around the corner.

New Society Publishers has recently released a major revision of this movement classic, re-titled *Powerful Peacemaking*, reflecting subsequent changes in movement politics, the author's political analysis, and his own life as he enters middle age. While still upbeat in his belief in the possibility of an eventual non-violent revolution, Lakey takes a more realistic perspective toward the structural and attitudinal barriers to building a new society.

Lakey offers two significant theoretical additions. The first involves an analysis of patriarchy, where "male-identified" values of centralization, violence and individual accumulation create a cultural milieu in which values of participatory democracy, non-violence and a sharing community are discouraged. Borrowing from both socialist-feminist and radical-feminist traditions, Lakey provides anecdotes of his coming out as a gay man to demonstrate his growing appreciation of the application of androgynous values as a means of overcoming the abuses of militarism, capitalism and the power of the state.

The other new contribution is the author's analysis of the role of the military and its economic power. Only by examining the functions of the war system, Lakey argues, can a strategy be developed to end its grip on society. Drawing on both pacifist and Marxist analyses, Lakey calls on peace activists to work directly with the labor movement to develop alternatives to militarism—such as converting military industries to civil-

NON-VIOLENCE

ian functions and creating a civilian-based defense—in order to provide the only real hope of overcoming the power of the military-industrial complex.

Five-stage strategy: Lakey's five-stage strategy for non-violent revolution, which appeared in the original volume, has long been regarded as the seminal model by many theorists of revolutionary movements, and has received increased attention as the overthrowing of the Shah in Iran and Marcos in the Philippines have rekindled interest in the power of massive non-violent action. Indeed, these and similar uprisings parallel closely the various stages outlined in Lakey's model, though Lakey would be the first to admit that the results do not come close to his vision of the ideal new society.

Several chapters remain identical to the original, which is unfortunate, since while the thrust of the arguments are strong as ever, many of the examples are dated and thereby ignore recent events that could enhance Lakey's thesis. In addition, major segments of these chapters focus on the advantages of non-violence to violence as the means of revolutionary change in the U.S.—an important argument at the time of the original publication, but one which few would question today. Rather than focus on why non-violence, far more people in the '80s would be asking, why revolution? Though this is implied in his analysis of the structural barriers to a just society, few North Americans today are convinced that revolution is the answer.

One important addition to the book is the final chapter containing commentaries by four prominent American radical theorists: Richard Falk of Princeton University, an international legal scholar and fellow at the World Policy Institute; Jane Meyerding, a feminist writer and activist; David Albert, a publisher specializing in non-violent theory and Gandhian thought; and Bill Moyer, a sociologist whose mapping of non-violent movements has been an important contribution to understanding how social change takes place. Each notes the importance of Lakey's analysis in the understanding of power relationships and the prospects for change, underscoring how this volume is, in effect, a working paper for those who seek tocreate a better tomorrow.

Powerful Peacemaking remains at least as much a manual for activists as a theoretical model for academics. It is of particular importance today in that it recognizes that many of us who were in the streets 15 years ago can be (and, in many cases, still are) engaged in revolutionary activities through our involvement in alternative institutions, cultural work, educational institutions and social services. In helping to build new models and empower others, Lakey argues, we are creating the necessary groundwork for a real revolution in the future. ■

Stephen Zunes teaches in the Department of Politics at New York's Ithaca College.

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Frances Jetter

By David Moberg

AS THE ECONOMIC FAILURES OF the Reagan years start to crash down upon us, hopes run high that the 1988 elections could produce a leftward political swing. But it is not at all clear that Democrats will be able to capitalize on their opportunity. And it is even less clear that they will be able to govern effectively if they win.

Robert Kuttner, who has emerged as the country's foremost left public policy journalist, and Michael Harrington, for many years the most articulate and important public advocate of socialist ideas in the U.S., offer complementary but divergent views of the left's future. Kuttner's analysis deals more directly with the political tasks of gaining power and the economic policies needed for that. Harrington focuses on implications of structural shifts in the U.S. and world economy. Although both writers would probably agree with the political approach Kuttner outlines, if Harrington is correct, Kuttner's prescriptions—appealing and persuasive as they are—will not be adequate. Their warnings and advice are essential, well-conceived and heartfelt reading for 1988 and beyond.

To succeed in politics and government, Kuttner argues, the Democrats must rebuild their base among "wage-earners" through advocacy of government action that fulfills their economic needs. "Progressive populism," as he dubs the revived New Deal politics, is the U.S. variant of European social democracy. It lacks the clear European ideological justification of state intervention to counterbalance the market, and it reflects a long history of egalitarian individualism in American culture—adaptations that have weakened the ideology's long-term political power.

The central theme running throughout Kittner's gracefully written argument is the need "to restore the link between citizen, polity and party by addressing the actual economic needs of ordinary voters." This means countering the privatized view of people as simply actors in a marketplace that is held byconservatives of most stripes and by neoliberals. Expanding claims—entitlements—that are made simply by virtue of being a citizen, represent a triumph of forces that would tame the market and corporate power.

Delivering the goods: Such citizenship-entitlement claims also provide the glue that links voters to politics. Not only do political dropouts now see little to be gained by voting, but many working-class voters see the government delivering little to them personally. Ultimately, this ties them to the party that delivers the goods. Although the Democrats once were such a party, they increasingly lost touch with what Kuttner identifies as the key lesson from the New Deal: redistribution and social justice through *inclusion*.

Social Security covered every citizen (eventually), suggesting a universal right to a secure old age. But many of the anti-poverty programs were aimed at a minority, and they could be attacked as taking from "us" and giving to "them." Of course, the poor do need proportionately more, and Kuttner seems open to ways of making broad programs more progressive without narrow targetting. For example, he thinks taxing social benefits like Social Security is all right, but setting up a means test or establishing two medical systems—one for the poor and another for everyone with life insurance—is politically and socially disastrous.

Over the decades, the limited resolve of Democrats to provide a government counterbalance to the dictates of the market and corporate power has eroded. The unpopular U.S. welfare state suffers not from too much welfare but from accommodations to the market. The base of support for Democratic policies has withered, and the old formulas for success have been abandoned. The original version of Reagan's favorite anti-Democratic slogan—"tax and spend"—came from FDR aide Harry Hopkins: "Tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect." In a sophisticated way, federal government expenditures were designed, as old city political machine handouts were, to cement loyalties.

Changes in fund-raising, party and professional political organization, voter sentiments and ideology have contributed to decline of Democrats as they have abandoned progressive economic populism. The problem with the need for lots of money to campaign, Kuttner says, is that Republicans always have more. Big-time fund-raising leads Democrats to cater to business interests and undercut populism, and mass participation politics get crowded out. Here, as on some other points, Kuttner builds well on the superb work of Thomas Byrne Edsall's *The New Politics of Inequality*. One interesting case concerns Democratic fund-raising from Jews, estimated at one-third the party's total receipts. As defense of Israel has grown in importance among American Jews, Jewish financial support for liberal domestic politics has declined—even though the Jewish voter base remains strongly liberal and Democratic.

Will the Democrats be able to govern effectively if they win in 1988?

The answer for Democrats, other than public financing of elections, is reliance on mass participation and fund-raising. Although George McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign relied heavily on small donors, the Republicans now ironically rely more on small contributions than do the Democrats, the putative party of the little people.

Caring about apathy: But the Democrats have done little to rouse and animate an alienated and dispirited electorate. Instead their professional advisers steer them to fighting for undecided but likely voters (thus encouraging more conservative or "centrist" policies) rather than mobilizing the growing army of non-voters and alienated voters. These dropouts may not show up in opinion polls as overwhelming Democratic, but Kuttner argues that the kind of populist crusade that could bring out more poor and working-class voters would disproportionately benefit the Democrats.

Already polls show strong support for many liberal/populist initiatives, but Kuttner rightly argues that these may be vague views that must still be forged into strong, vote-motivating convictions. The well-publicized decline in voter participation particularly hurts the Democrats. Poorer and less-educated voters prefer the Democrats, but the class disparity in voting turnout is growing: now the more affluent effectively cast one and one-half votes for every vote cast by the less affluent.

The equally well-noted decline in parties and party loyalties also has asymmetrical effects, hurting the Democrats most, Kuttner argues. First, the Republicans as an organization have grown richer and more technically sophisticated, using detailed polling to win and to govern. Beyond that, Kuttner writes, strong political party systems inherently are more needed by the left in capitalist societies to counterbalance a natural drift toward conservative interests, to provide guidance to less sophisticated voters, to humanize government and to provide accountability for politicians.

The decline of the Democrats has generated a variety of neoconservatisms and neoliberalisms that Kuttner witheringly attacks. Both ignore and undermine the political logic of using the state to tame the market and deliver economic goods to a broad coalition of wage-earners, the poor and socially concerned intellectuals.

Kuttner strongly insists that Democrats get in trouble when they emphasize foreign policy or social issues instead of broad, inclusive economic programs. That is sound tactical electoral advice. But as government policy, it's inadequate. U.S. foreign policy is important in sustaining strong anti-left politics domestically, propping up deleterious military spending and distorting global economic policy, all of which in turn undermine the domestic economy.

Libertarian appeal: Also, it isn't clear what Kuttner intends to target with his dismissal of "social issues." It is wise to emphasize full employment rather than welfare for a variety of reasons, and politically making defense of abortion a top priority is counterproductive, but many of the social issue demands pressed on the Democrats are legitimate and unavoidable. And as the campaign against Judge Robert Bork indicated, certain libertarian social principles have broad appeal, especially among younger workers. Likewise, environmentalism has extremely wide support. Some of the more divisive social issues would not be such bombshells politically if the Democrats had emphasized working-class-oriented economic policies in the first place.

The Democrats, according to Kuttner, need one or two big ideas (which may be old and forgotten) more than a lot of little "new ideas" that are technically slick but polit-

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Continued from preceding page

ically scattered. He outlines a variety of ideas on education, labor-market policies, and supporting families (such as child care and a national health program) that could strike a new social bargain welding a larger electorate to the state and the Democrats. But in order to win support and popular tolerance for higher taxes, Democrats will have to devote much attention to ways of countering bureaucracy and making such programs effective, something that Kuttner acknowledges but does not fully develop.

Kuttner recognizes that the nation's most pressing economic needs do not fit perfectly with the old Democratic model of delivering goods to a mass constituency. Renegotiating a new world economic order—managed trade, debt-forgiveness for poor nations, new mechanisms for currency stability, for example—are critical, but they don't fit the tax, spend, elect formula. Likewise, the revitalization of the domestic economy will require new regulation of banks, credit and financial markets, new democratic methods of governing corporations and holding them socially accountable, and a greater role for workers and unions in running companies and general economic policy. But critical as such restructuring is (and Kuttner advocates it), it poses new political challenges. Indeed, the Democrats have largely failed in recent decades by refusing to challenge corporate priorities.

The left next time: Michael Harrington, whose short, passionate book ranges across the current scene with the cadence of his justly famous speeches, essentially argues that the world has changed so dramatically that many of the nostrums of liberals and the democratic left are no longer adequate. For decades the advanced capitalist countries have operated under what he, following a number of European left analysts, dubs "Fordism": mass production, relatively high wages, investment in productivity-enhancing technology, a larger "social wage" (welfare state benefits), government policies to stabilize the economy and acceptance of big corporations—usually tolerating unions—as the centerpiece of the domestic economy.

The Fordist world came unravelled. Government was a culprit, Harrington argues, not because its spending crowded out private investment, not because of high taxes and entitlements (although he grants that very generous welfare states can impede efficiency) and not because federal deficits created dangerous inflation. But government contributed to the crisis by defending capital rather than the majority of the population—thus setting limits on Fordism or the ambitions of a left Keynesianism to keep the economy rolling. For example, it relied on subsidies to business rather than communal savings to generate growth. Although income was redistributed (or socialized) somewhat until the Regan redistribution back to the rich, wealth was not socialized. But Harrington pulls back at the crucial step of telling us how to accomplish that difficult task.

The big problem, Harrington argues, is that investment no longer generates jobs, or good jobs at least, in the way it used to. The new types of computer automation, he contends, undermine the well-paid working-class jobs and do not automatically generate new employment as did such previous innovations, like mass production of automobiles.

It is a scary scenario, supported by some current data on the middle-class slide and problems of high unemployment in some European countries with historically low jobless rates. But is it true? Even Nobel Prize economist Wassily Leontief, whom Harrington cites, seems less convinced now that his earlier dire prediction of job loss from automation is accurate for the next decade or so—although it may ultimately be true.

Less work is more: Unlike Kuttner, Harrington thinks reduced worktime is, therefore, essential. But he is surprisingly cautious about his proposals, arguing that there should be a slow transition partly paid for by workers' collective bargaining and public subsidies. This modesty seems to stem from Harrington's exposure to a chastened European left. The book is framed by his long reflection on the ultimate failure of the Mitterrand Socialist government in France, which did the morally right things—yet one medium-sized country could not buck world trends.

The Democrats must argue that their majority, not business, represents the social class acting in the national interest.

As a case in point, Harrington argues against redistribution policies based on increased payroll taxes—or even increased wages—on the grounds that those burdens undercut competitiveness of the industries and so are counterproductive. He thus stands at odds with the leftwing program for wage-led economic growth. But he is harshly critical of employers wage-cutting, which is also justified in the name of competitiveness, and at another point wants to effectively set a $7-an-hour wage floor by guaranteeing federal jobs at that level to all who want them. What wage level is appropriate? And how do workers, unions and governments respond to competitive pressures in an age of multinational corporations and simultaneous global overproduction and contraction?

Beyond his call for shorter worktime and transforming the meaning and character of work (making it more fulfilling and sharing it so as not to waste people now marginalized), Harrington argues for more "soft productivity" gains and progressive redistribution of income through policies such as children's allowances and national health plans. The "soft productivity" gains through worker involvement can temporarily aid companies' competitive stance, but the specter of competition does not vanish. The major gain may be political, if worker involvement is pursued in the right way: making workers more willing to challenge management and see themselves as potential decision-makers.

Democratic planning is essential, Harrington argues, and in order for that to develop, workers, citizen groups and others with a stake in corporate decisions need public subsidies so they can hire experts to make their voices effective. Beyond transforming the private sector, the public sector must be enlarged—including rebuilding railroads as well as providing national health service, he suggests—and a new international order negotiated based on economic justice for the poor nations that will ultimately boost industrialized economies.

From both Kuttner and Harrington certain common themes emerge: citizenship emphasized over limited role as worker or consumer, state expanded to counterbalance the market, corporate power tamed with worker democracy and popular planning, redistribution of income and wealth through broadly based government entitlements.

For the Democrats to pursue such a path, they must break with their recent past and take a gamble that by serving popular needs they can break the hold of both conservative ideology (including that within the Democratic Party) and a long accumulated alienation and disaffection from politics of much of their potential base. They must argue, as Harrington says, that their majority, not business, represents the "national class," the social class acting in the national interest.

The structural prescriptions both Kuttner and Harrington offer may not be adequate to deal with a deep crisis that may be in the offing, especially if there is a capital strike or flight—a refusal of investors and corporations to abide by the new social compact. But anything less than what they propose will fail to address the accumulated crises of Reaganism. That will lead to austerity and simply, disastrously turn the Democrats into the bad news bearers. ■

MEDIA BEAT

By Pat Aufderheide

Drawing the Line

Who puts the filters on the images before they get to the TV screen in your living room? The latest filterer in the U.S. is the Humana corporation, the hospital-for-profit chain. Humana slapped a lawsuit on NBC for a plot line in its *St. Elsewhere* series, in which a corporate chain named Ecumena takes over the St. Eligius hospital. Editors are working overtime to erase the Ecumena name from opening shots, and the firm will be renamed. Meanwhile, in Britain, where there is much more pervasive state control over content, plans are afoot to devise a new institutional filter: a Broadcasting Standards Council independent from the networks, pushed by the Conservative Party as an answer to rising concern over violence on the air—especially in U.S. shows such as *Miami Vice*. A recent mass slaughter in an English village provoked a critical furor over TV violence, and members of the Liberal and Labour parties have also endorsed the formation of the Broadcasting Council.

Less Is More

The stock market crash put a crimp in merger and takeover plans, but in the media industry consolidation has already reached monster proportions. *Mergers and Acquisitions* magazine reports that in 1986 the media industry accounted for one in 11 mergers and acquisitions, and one in every seven of the dollars that sped around the financial network at accelerating speeds. In a third of the media deals where the price is known, the price exceeded $100 million, a considerably pricier game than the average merger deal. Bottom-line logic and FCC deregulation has fueled merger mania and provoked as-yet weak congressional threats to limit broadcast trading. But stock market volatility may dampen desire to brighten a bottom line in the short run by acquisitions.

Zap Protection Racket

A California firm is marketing a device that would block broadcast TV ads and replace them with video-muzak or weather news. But its major market may be TV stations, not viewers. The Adaway Systems company, reports *Electronic Media* magazine, has been mailing news of the device to stations, with an offer to protect some of the ads from blockage for between $200,000 and $400,000 a year. The protection scheme was made possible by FCC deregulation, since the device works on FM subcarrier frequencies that the FCC now permits FM licensees to lease out.

Let Your Fingers Do the Travelling

Yet more evidence of creative use of new technologies: a video shopping cassette is being marketed, modelled on broadcast and cable home-shopping programs. Featuring Elke Sommer travelling the globe for bargains, it boasts a more upscale approach than the in-studio shows; the cassettes will be issued monthly.

Vietnam and Hula Hoops

Why did Vietnam finally make it to prime time in CBS' drama series *Tour of Duty*? Sure, time has taken the edge off the issue, but it hasn't reduced public confusion about the purpose and meaning of the war. And sure, the series leaves out unpleasant features of the war like fragging, racism and anti-war protest within the armed forces. But that's not enough to explain launching a major series on a subject once regarded as audience poison. What did it, according to inside sources reported in the latest *Channels of Communication* magazine, is movie box office success. Once *Full Metal Jacket* followed *Platoon* as a financial winner, TV execs saw dollars, too. One CBS exec told *Channels of Communication* that "Vietnam has captured the American imagination like nothing since the hula hoop." If *Tour of Duty* doesn't last, it may have the pop cultural duration of the hula hoop; if it does, it may have all of the hula hoop's cultural significance.

So Wear a Bear Suit

It's hard times for working actors. A right-wing faction of the Screen Actors Guild has resurfaced aggressively; NBC stiff-armed National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians strikers for months; and the NFL flattened the players union. But some performers get respect. In California, aging animal actors now get a pension, thanks to legislation establishing a trust fund for them. The fund is fueled by voluntary contributions from trainers. Animal rights activists, including Gladie Sargent—a minority owner of the Los Angeles Raiders—pushed the legislation through.

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The Sicilian
Directed by Michael Cimino

By Pat Aufderheide

FILM



David Jones

Christopher Lambert and Giulia Boschi in *The Sicilian*: an unholy union of history and fantasy.

Cimino's spaghetti western noodles around with history

WITH *THE SICILIAN*, DIRECTOR Michael Cimino (*The Deerhunter*, *Heaven's Gate*) picks up the story Sicilian peasants had made folklore, and that Mario Puzo made bedtime reading, and turned it into a spaghetti western that takes itself seriously. The result can be hilarious. It's also fascinating as the transformation of one set of myths into another.

Salvatore Giuliano was a legend in his time. A bandit between 1943 and 1950 in the western Sicilian hills, by his death he had killed 430 people, occasionally split his hauls with the local peasantry, allied himself with a separatist movement that aimed to make Sicily the 49th U.S. state and, with Mafia protection, had massacred a group of May-day celebrants in a Communist Party stronghold.

Banditry was a spinoff of upheavals in Sicily, where by the 19th century the vicissitudes of export agricultural production had pushed pastoralists off the land and turned peasants into landless workers. Mafia—informal networks of brokers between landowners and peasants—kept some of export agriculture's benefits in the hands of Sicilians, and often, out of the hands of bandits.

Picking sides: Giuliano's local fame had something to do with his daring, if deadly, exploits; something to do with occasional populist gestures; and much to do with regional poverty. His rise and fall had everything to do with the collapse and restructuring of Sicilian economics and politics. After the 1943 Allied invasion, Giuliano, like many others, headed for the hills in the confusion. As western Sicilian peasants united around left politics and policies, Giuliano tried to turn himself from local thug to regional politician. He allied himself with right-wing separatists and with a Mafia transformed by U.S. influence. It didn't work; the massacre was impolitic, he was isolated, and Mafia men and police ganged up to liquidate him.

If you want to understand Giuliano and his times, you could watch a 1962 film made by Italian left-wing filmmaker Francesco Rosi, whose documentary-like investigative film *Salvatore Giuliano* is less about the bandit than the web of informal and formal power in which he operated. Or read historian Eric Hobsbawm's work on social banditry; or consult Jane and Peter Schneider's *Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily*, one of several excellent sources on the context of Mafia and banditry.

But if you want to see the social bandit turned into an adolescent American rebel, a combination Sicilian Rambo, James Dean and Jesse James, watch *The Sicilian*. When you get bored, you can always watch the scene-setting, done in a style that looks like grotesque greeting-card art.

The defiant one: The movie opens with a bang, or rather the thud of a bloody body—Giuliano's —on a Palermo street, with a narrator solemnly intoning that this was "the one man who dared to challenge the established order," of the Church, the rich and the Mafia. This is the Great Man—or perhaps Great Teenager—theory of banditry. After a tour through dark streets decorated with pro-Giuliano graffiti, we flash back to Giuliano's glorious sunlit youth, on a backdrop of golden wheat fields, palatial mansions and quaint toiling peasants.

Giuliano's relationship with a doting godfather is made much of—the better, presumably, to launch a career of helping the poor in spite of themselves. He's got a bad case of infantile leftism; he wants to change the system, now, by gambits like distributing stolen grain to the poor and exhorting them, with his leftist wife, to rush into ducal strongholds and seize land.

What he doesn't realize, as his father tells him sadly near the end of his short life, is that "the peasants don't want land; they want bread, and the Mafia gives it to them." Tell it to the marchers of Piana, who were among the most organized political activists for land reform when Giuliano massacred them.

He also doesn't realize that he's in a timeless world. If you didn't listen to his elders saying "people have always starved" in this village, or the last statement in the film, "There is nothing next—here!," you could read it in the production design and the richly autumnal colors, which locate the film in a Sicilian peasant never-never land. You'd never guess Patton's men had overrun the place, Lucky Luciano and the OSS had moved in, and Palermo become a bustling center of illegal international trade.

But, hey, what's a fact here and there, when you've got an epic on your hands? (Perhaps the greatest mystery in *The Sicilian* is why Gore Vidal even wants to claim credit for the screenplay. He's suing the Writers Guild over Steve Shagan's credit; you'd think, as the author who's still proud of correcting historical inaccuracies in *Ben Hur*, he'd be grateful.) Reducing the people and history of Sicily to a faceless, timeless backdrop makes Giuliano into a martyr and also neatly clears out the screen. And Cimino has other things to put into it; even after he lost the final cut of *The Sicilian*, it bears his stylistic imprint.

Cimino turns a Sicilian bandit into an adolescent American rebel—a mixture of Rambo and James Dean.

Sunlight and splatter: He's still a master stager of spectacle, for most of which narrative is irrelevant. Like in *Heaven's Gate*, where a simple western-movie cliche like a square dance could turn into a drugged visual fantasy, he blasts away at our senses with spectacle—blood splattering a coffin, sunlight through dark red hair, and horse choreography.

In *The Sicilian* he's still trying to turn the western into visual opera, with such scenes as Giuliano's mountain wedding and a hillside meeting of bandit leaders. But the focus of the film is Giuliano (Christopher Lambert), who's photographed in ways that make Helmut Newton look prudish. He's a kind of Bloomie's mannequin bandit, raw male charisma as a consumer item. It doesn't matter whether Lambert can act—we'll never find out from what he's allowed to do here. The movie camera's in love with his smouldering eyes, his jaunty smile, his bounding step. In fact, it's so in love with him you feel excluded.

The camera isn't the only object desiring Giuliano. There are women, sure, including his hapless and luscious young wife (Giulia Boschi) and the local duchess (Barbara Sukowa, who deserves a Purple Heart). The important people in his life, though, are men—one of them his sidekick (who John Turturro plays as if he'd just stepped off the boat from America), but crucially the Mafia boss (Joss Ackland). He wants Giuliano's love, and he protects him as his son.

Just as Cimino turned a northeastern steelworking community into a cabal of male romantic love in *The Deerhunter*, he makes the Mafia-bandit connection a cabal of romantic machismo in *The Sicilian*. He puts a postmodern twist on it, though. Having created Giuliano as a rebel without a constituency, he turns him into a teen idol of a timeless Sicily. And like a good teen idol, he dies innocent and betrayed. Better still, he does it in neon; the penultimate scene on a dock featuring fascist-art-deco neon looks like it belongs in a rock video.

Cimino may finally have driven the last nail into the bandit's coffin. Without the social frame around him, he's only a kid with too-pretty features and do-good sentiments. You can't help wanting to tell the Mafia boss to wake up and shoot him by half way through the film. But then you'd miss the neon spectacle at the end. ■

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Bohemian pop

Continued from page 24

their friends and their community and their government and their job." It's this ugly flipside of the American dream that Frank O'Brien and some of the lost souls of *Tunnel of Love* symbolize.

Waits powerfully articulates the tragedy of failed dreams, especially in songs like "Innocent When You Dream," "More than Rain" and "Cold Cold Ground"—a dirge that would be profoundly sad even without vocals, so touching is the haunting interplay between Waits' electric guitar and David Hidalgo's accordion.

Living the dream: Bruce Springsteen's own real-life story is the fulfillment of the fictional Frank O'Brien's unrealized dreams. Like Frank, Springsteen left his little town of Freehold, New Jersey, to make his fame and fortune. Now Springsteen has more of both than he knows what to do with. He has been exalted by critics as a genius, by his multitudes as a god, by the left as a populist crusader, by the right as a defender of American values, and by teenage girls as a nice piece. The big issue of Springsteen's life is not failure.

But in his more autobiographical songs, Springsteen has traditionally assumed the role of the poor kid on a Jersey beach. The less poor and the less of a kid he has become, the more that role has worn thin. *Tunnel of Love* is at least an attempt to break from this tired persona. Thus, the album opens with a sort of rich-man's blues, "Ain't Got You," in which the singer playfully laments that although he has "houses 'cross country" he's got nothing without his true love. It's a fun poke at success, if a pretentious one.

Springsteen takes a harder and much more satisfying look at adult life in "Walk Like a Man," which delves into his relationship with his Frank O'Brien-like father. Such mature writing makes songs like "All that Heaven Will Allow"—which features such babble as "I got a dollar in my pocket" and "I swear I left my wallet/ Back home in my working pants"—seem all the more ridiculous. *Tunnel of Love* suggests that Bruce Springsteen is still in his adolescence as a songwriter. He seems to want to grow up very badly, but is apparently unsure how to do it.

No direction home: Wait's Frank O'Brien demonstrates how failure can lead to isolation. But Bruce Springsteen is evidence that success can lead to the same end. Springsteen is learning that, like Frank, a train can't bring him home. And in many ways, Springsteen's plight is just as disastrous.

Springsteen was always at his best when he was writing about home. Beginning with his aptly titled debut, *Greetings from Asbury Park, New Jersey*, Springsteen's best efforts were dispatches from the homefront. Masterpieces like "Spirits in the Night, "Rosalita," "Fourth of July, Asbury Park, New Jersey" and "Thunder Road" somehow sounded like they'd been written and recorded on a boardwalk along the Jersey Shore. He couldn't walk that boardwalk now without causing a riot.

Since *The River* was released in 1980, Springsteen's albums have sounded more and more like a professional musician's—that is to say, someone who's home is a recording studio. And, in fact, *Tunnel of Love* was apparently recorded in Springsteen's new mansion. For all its interesting experiments, for all its good songwriting, *Tunnel of Love* sounds too clean. Everything is in the right place. And that's Bruce Springsteen's own little tragedy.

A drifter, Tom Waits has lived too many places to call one of them home. "I don't know where I'm living," he recently told *Musician* magazine, labelling himself a "citizen of the world." That gives him plenty of options. His music is about the journey, not the place. Perhaps that's why *Frank's Wild Years* sounds so wonderfully off-course.

"I like picking up instruments I don't understand. And doing things that sound foolish at first," Waits told *Musician*. "It's like giving a blowtorch to a monkey. That's what I'm trying to do. Always trying to break something, break something, break *through to* something."

The record cover of *Frank's Wild Years* is a shadowy collage of seductively textured images—images that look like Waits' complex and lasting record sounds. Springsteen's record jacket is also telling. It's like an out-take from *Miami Vice*: an insipid pastel pretty-boy shot of the well-groomed singer standing by a sportscar on the beach. Like the album inside, the photo is studied and slick. But somehow you just want to give a monkey a blowtorch to use on that nice picture. ▣

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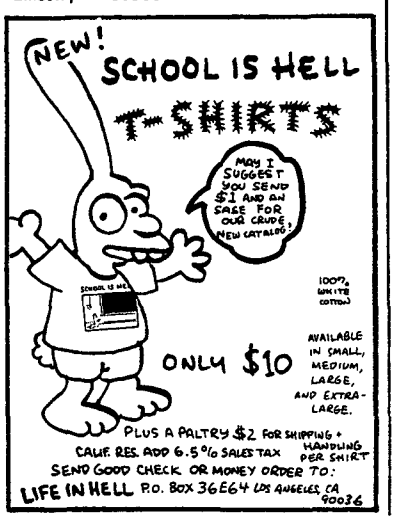
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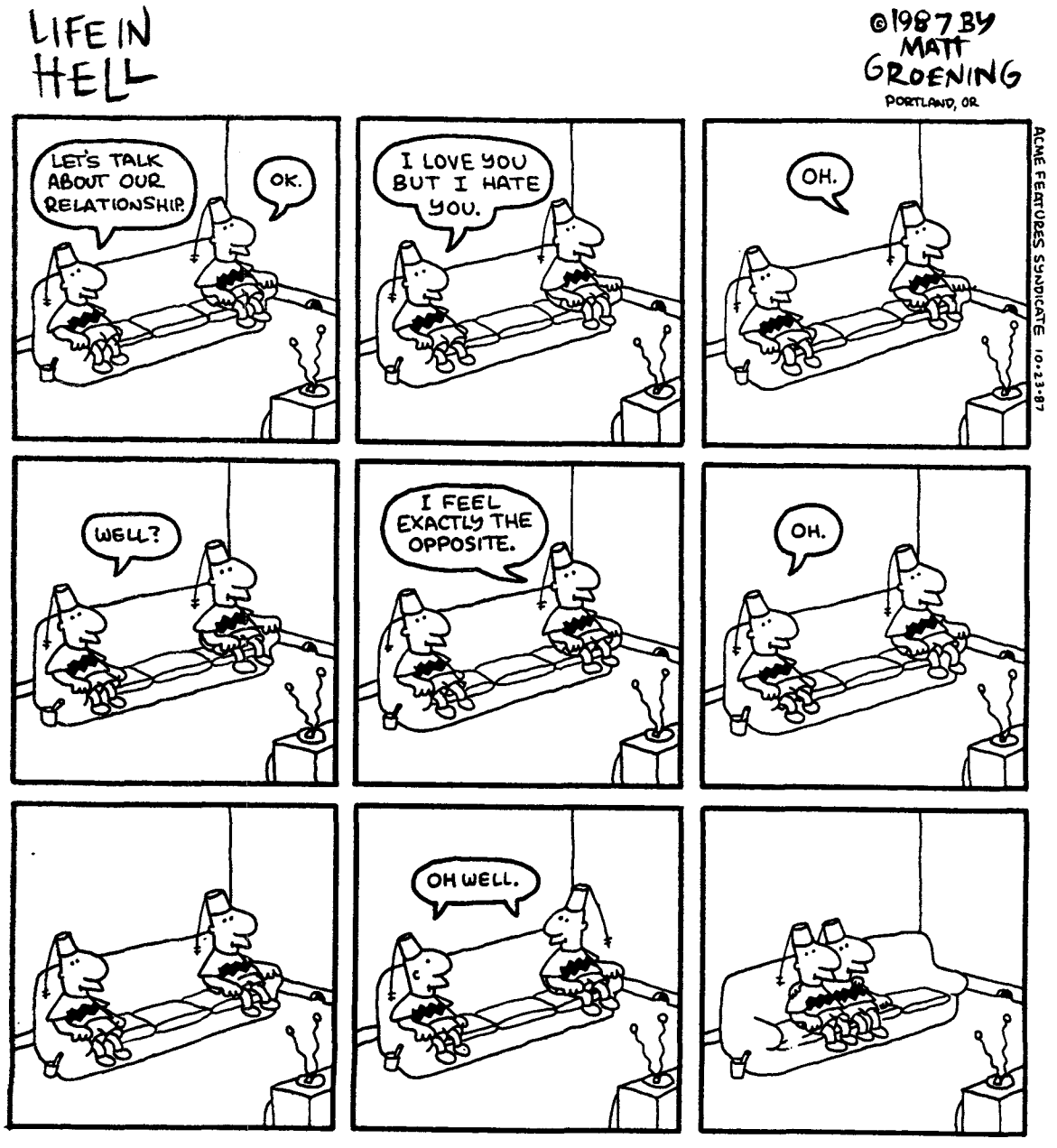
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Join us in remembering Harvey O'Connor (1897-1987) at the Headquarters of District 65, United Auto Workers, 13 Astor Place, New York City, at 2:00 p.m., Sunday, Nov. 15. Speakers include: Anne Braden, Phil Foner, Corliss Lamont, Victor Navasky, Pete & Toshi Seeger, I.F. Stone and Frank Wilkinson. Sponsored by an ad hoc committee established by the organization Harvey O'Connor helped found and led for 20 years, the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL).

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November 22

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Bohemian Rhapsody

Waits and Springsteen: a pop music hobo and a model Boss

By Miles Harvey

Frank's Wild Years
By Tom Waits
Island Records

Tunnel of Love
By Bruce Springsteen
Columbia

TOM WAITS AND BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN ARE POP music's foremost explorers of one of the 20th century's hardiest literary myths: the lives of the downtrodden-but-poetic regular folks who've haunted the American imagination since Nelson Algren and Jack Kerouac.

Whether it was Springsteen's Spanish Johnny "with bruised arms and broken rhythm and a beat-up old Buick, but dressed just like dynamite," or Waits' Romeo, who was "bleeding, but not so's you'd notice," romantic character studies of back-alley outcasts have been both singers' consistent lyrical focus.

It is not surprising, then, that hard-luck little guys continue to inhabit the small towns and big cities of Waits' *Frank's Wild Years* and Springsteen's *Tunnel of Love*. But the new albums also have other intriguing similarities.

The two artists, born three months apart in 1949, have crafted quiet and contemplative albums with strikingly comparable themes. *Frank's Wild Years* and *Tunnel of Love* also display significant experimentation from their respective artists.

Musical pack rats: Ever since their debut albums were released in 1973, it's been obvious that Waits and Springsteen are unashamed borrowers. They've made careers as musical pack rats—filching another artist's style here, aping an entire genre there, throwing in a different approach or two, and coming out with something that is both original and familiar.

Waits' sounds over the years have been based on eclectic hybrids of folk, blues, Tin Pan Alley, cabaret, lounge jazz and beat poetry. Springsteen has tipped his headband to such diverse musicians as Bob Dylan, Van Morrison, Buddy Holly, Woody Guthrie and Elvis Presley.

On recent albums, however, both Waits and Springsteen have seemed to be chasing new musical formulas. In 1982 Springsteen strayed from the big, walloping sound of his seven-member E Street Band. The result was *Nebraska*, a sparse, mostly acoustic album he recorded solo. His band reappeared in 1984's *Born in the U.S.A.*, but there were new surprises. Usually a rock traditionalist, Springsteen began toying with synthesizers.

No revolution: *Tunnel of Love*, a collection of songs about the complexities of romance, contains elements of both of the last two records. Like *Nebraska* it is dark. Like *Born in the U.S.A.* it continues the artist's experiments with high-tech instruments. These dabblings are noteworthy, but hardly revolutionary. Indeed, they offer only exciting, though unsatisfying, glimpses at the kind of music Bruce Springsteen might create if he were to make a real break from his stale old formulas.

Tom Waits is taking more risks than Springsteen—and getting bigger artistic returns. The title of his 1983 album *Swordfishtrombones*, seemed to signal what would follow: odd juxtapositions of instruments, of lyrics, of moods, of rhythms. The resulting pastiche, on both *Swordfishtrombones* and 1985's *Rain Dogs*, was some of the decade's most moving and interesting popular music. The new album expands this successful expedition.

Most of the songs from *Frank's Wild Years* were originally written for a play of the same name, which starred Waits and premiered in 1986 under the production of Chicago's Steppenwolf Theater. The work was co-written—as are many of the songs—by Waits and his wife, Kathleen Brennan.

Frank's Wild Years is the story of Frank O'Brien—a would-be musician who leaves the happiness of his small town to become a big-city star, only to suffer utter failure. Thus on the haunting "Train Song" Frank reminisces:

I remember when I left
without bothering to pack
you know I up and left with
just the clothes on my back
now I'm sorry for what I've done
and I'm out here on my own
well it was a train that took me away from
here but a train can't bring me home

Frank O'Brien is a creation of Tom Waits, but characters suffering Frank's emotional quarantine are found throughout Springsteen's work. On *Tunnel of Love*'s "When You're Alone," the singer warns:

With just the shirt on my back I left and
swore I'd never look back
And man I was gone gone gone
But there's things that'll knock you down
you don't even see coming
And send you crawling like a baby back
home
You're gonna find out that day sugar
When you're alone you're alone

In a 1984 interview, Springsteen told *Rolling Stone* magazine that he was trying to write about "American isolation: what happens to people when they're alienated from

Continued on page 22

Bruce Springsteen, © Annie Liebovitz Tom Waits, © Robert Frank

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